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The Outlook

SATURDAY, MARCH 30, 1907

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Bribery Prosecutions in San Francisco

The Grand Jury at San Francisco last week returned sixty-five additional indictments for bribery against "Abe" Ruef, the boss who has held absolute rule in the city for several years. Bail was fixed by the judge at $10,000 on each count, making a total, with the hundred thousand dollars which Ruef has already put up, of three-quarters of a million dollars. In response to a request for telegraphic information, a trustworthy correspondent in San Francisco, and a man of high standing in the community, has sent to The Outlook the following statement of facts: The bribery charged in the indictments was in the matter of franchises for the United Railroads and the gas and telephone companies, and of permits for prize-fights. Each of the eighteen members of the Board of Supervisors has confessed separately to the Grand Jury, and the details of their stories tally exactly. In a typical case, that of the prize-fight permits, the prize-fight trust is said to have paid Ruef $20,000, of which amount Ruef paid $9,000 to Supervisor Gallagher, who distributed $475 to each member of the Board. In the case of the Gas Company the amount which each Supervisor is said to have received was $750. Mr. T. W. Halsey, manager of the Pacific States Telephone Company, who has also been indicted on ten counts for bribery, is charged with having paid $5,000 to each of fourteen Supervisors for his vote on a franchise for the company. Notwithstanding this, the Home Telephone Company, a rival concern, secured the services of Ruef, and, by paying through him, as the indictment alleges, $3,500 to each Supervisor, secured the passage of its own franchise and the defeat of its opponent's. These cases occurred before the earthquake and fire, but the opportunity for bribery in the case of the United Railroads was a direct result of the disaster. Four hundred thousand dollars is alleged to have been paid to Ruef for franchises permitting the United Railroads to electrify its lines and use overhead trolleys, which had been strongly opposed by public opinion; fifteen Supervisors are said to have received $4,000 each, one $10,000, and one $15,000. For a week, it is said, Ruef has been eager to confess, but Assistant District Attorney Heney, the special prosecutor for these cases, is unwilling to accept his confession unless he will plead guilty to a charge of felony, for which the penalty might be imprisonment for fourteen years. Ruef and Schmitz are mutually suspicious, each believing that the other is ready to confess. The chief interest now centers in the possibility of the prosecution of the original givers of the bribes, men in high position in the railway, telephone, and gas companies. The detection and punishment of these men are as vitally important as the conviction of the bribe-takers. The truth of the principle that the man who buys favors from a public official is at least as bad as, and in most cases probably worse than, the official who sells, is not always recognized. There is all the more reason why it should receive practical application in a case like this.

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Oklahoma and Statehood

The convention of delegates which has been at work all winter framing an organic law for the new State of Oklahoma has completed its labors. The Constitution, as provided by the enabling act, will be submitted to the President. If he approves its provisions, the citizens of the proposed commonwealth will vote on their acceptance—this election probably taking place next summer. The Convention had 112

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delegates—100 Democrats and 12 Republicans. The Indian Territory end had 55, the Oklahoma end 55, and the Osage Nation 2. Naturally, the Osage delegates cast their lot with the Indian Territory contingent, giving it control of the Convention on matters affecting local interests. Many of the Indian politicians have been educated in Carlisle, Harvard, and Cornell, the leading families of the Five Civilized Tribes being wealthy. They manifested their ability and intelligence by blocking more than one project that seemed likely to injure their people. Most of the session was spent in an effort to abolish trusts and monopolies and rigidly to control railways and other public carriers. The provisions to this end are severe and mark a notable awakening to the dangers of unregulated corporation influence. To enjoy the right of eminent domain foreign railways must organize under the laws of Oklahoma, which, it is planned, will prevent common abuses of railway management. It is claimed by those opposed to the work of the Convention that capital will be slower than formerly to seek investment in the new State, and that railway building will stop for a time; but these are remote contingencies, provided the first legislature uses reason in framing the statutes. Under the enabling act the Indian Territory end is to be "dry" for twenty-one years. The Indians and their allies thought that what was good for the redskin was likewise good for his white neighbor, so State-wide prohibition will be submitted to a vote separately from the Constitution, only a majority being necessary for its adoption. Naturally, the Indian Territory end will favor it, and, with the help of the prohibitionists of the Oklahoma end, it is likely to carry. Several provisions of which the delegates feared the President might disapprove were placed in the form of resolutions or instructions to the first legislature. Among these are the "Jim Crow" car regulations. Stringent laws on the negro question may be expected. The Indian himself is an ex-slaveholder, and while many colors and nationalities mingle in the citizenship of the new State, such votes as have been taken indicate that the racial traditions of the South are to be followed. Separate schools for negro children must be provided. In the creation of senatorial and legislative districts the State was gerrymandered beyond hope of Republican success unless a widespread political upheaval shall appear. The direct primary was not made mandatory; the acceptance of free railway passes is forbidden; the preamble invokes the guidance of "Almighty God," and the bill of rights is similar to that of other States. On the whole, with the experience of a century of State-making as a guide, Oklahoma has shown a variation chiefly in the regulation of corporations. This method of dealing with the corporation problem may be taken as the latest word in constitutions.

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Rapid Settlement of the Southwest

Oklahoma's rapid settlement has been responsible for the conditions under which its Constitution has been written. Only seventeen years from the sod, the new commonwealth already has 1,200,000 citizens, including about 80,000 Indians. A constant procession of settlers has poured across its borders, and its growth has been a marvel. Cities of 15,000 to 35,000 population have the luxuries and improvements of Eastern municipalities, and farms and ranches yield wonderful crops of corn and cotton, wheat and fruit. As many settlers have come from Texas and Missouri as from Kansas, more from Arkansas and Tennessee than from Iowa. It will take time for these variant elements to mingle and combine into a harmonious whole. The same influx of many sorts of people is taking place throughout the Southwest, which is just now receiving the largest immigration of any portion of the Nation. On home-seekers' days trains run from Chicago, St. Louis, and Kansas City in three or four sections, while excursions of land speculators are frequent in the older portions of the Middle West. Great areas of the Panhandle of Texas are being broken by steam plows; crops are being planted this spring over whole counties where never before was grain produced. Land agents are advertising

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real estate at eight and ten dollars an acre, with promise of "forty bushels of wheat to the acre," an abundance of yield seldom reached even in the heart of the wheat region. Railways and land companies seem to have united in spreading these dreams of agricultural munificence, and have induced a vast amount of speculative buying of realty as well as a veritable exodus of ambitious farmers, the most considerable movement of settlers since the earlier days of Oklahoma's opening. New methods of tillage and crops adapted to a climate deficient in rainfall are the leading arguments in favor of permanent grain yields, but thousands of settlers will follow accustomed ways, and will be bitterly disappointed when dry years come. The high plains country of the Southwest, like other parts of the West, will have reverses, though perhaps not so serious in their results, because the dwellers have greater financial resources. The frontier is rapidly passing; soon the entire Mississippi Valley to the foothills of the Rockies will be cut into farms. Statehood for Oklahoma and the new tide of immigration mark the end of its pioneer era.

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A Plain Duty for the New York Legislature

To offend the farmers or to refuse to do its duty is the alternative that confronts the New York Legislature in the matter of race-track gambling. The issue was clearly presented at a hearing before the Codes Committees of the Senate and Assembly last week, on the bills prepared by District Attorney Jerome to abolish book-making on race-tracks. As was stated in The Outlook when the bills were introduced, the State Constitution expressly prohibits all forms of gambling everywhere in the State, and lays upon the Legislature the duty of enacting statutes to make this prohibition effective and to provide penalties for its violation. This duty the Legislature promptly performed, but in a curious manner. Gambling outside of a race-track was made a felony punishable by not less than one year's imprisonment; gambling inside a race-track was made a crime for which the exclusive penalty was that the winner of a bet might be sued by the loser and required to pay to him twice the amount of his wager. The intent of such a provision is obvious. The methods by which it was enacted are indicated by a further provision that five per cent. of the gross receipts of the racing associations throughout the State shall go to the State for the encouragement of agriculture. The means by which agriculture is encouraged in this case consist in providing prizes for distribution at county fairs. This provision, so astutely inserted by the race-track attorneys who drew the bill, established a partnership in the profits from the racing between the racing association and the farmer. The influence of this partnership has been strong enough during eleven years to keep upon the statute-books this almost contemptuous evasion of the State Constitution. At the hearing last week the principal opposition to the Jerome bills came, as in years past, from the farmers. Mr. Jerome, in preparing his bills, had met the astuteness of the framers of the Percy-Gray Law by a provision that the sum of $210,000 should be appropriated from the general funds of the State for the county fairs. This amount would more than replace what the fairs would lose if the prevention of gambling should entirely drive the racing associations out of business. Mr. J. H. Durkee, President of the County Agricultural Associations, said that until this appropriation was made the farmers would oppose the anti-gambling measure; he made it clear that their only interest in the question of race-track gambling is a selfish one—how much can they make out of it? It is the conventional thing to look to the moral sense of the rural districts to overcome the vice of the cities; but in this case the effort for the enforcement of the Constitution has originated in the city and has met its most stubborn opposition from the country and even from some of the members of country churches. The moral issue before the members of the Legislature is plain: Shall they obey their oaths of office, in which they pledged themselves to uphold the Constitution, or shall they sacrifice duty to expediency?

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Shall they put an end to the ridiculous condition of affairs which makes gambling on one side of a fence a felony, on the other side an offense only against the individual, not against the State; or shall they let their own selfish interests blind them to the requirements of justice and decency? Shall they refuse to permit to exist, under the protection of the law, a practice which the people of the State have solemnly decreed shall be abolished, or shall they exchange the right to violate the law for votes? For a decade the Legislature has chosen the latter alternative—a choice morally humiliating but politically safer. Will the present body rate its oath of office at a higher value?

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Leaden-heeled Justice

The difference between American and English jurisprudence, to which The Outlook has often called attention, is just now dramatically illustrated by the contrast between the Thaw trial in New York and the Rayner trial in London. In neither case was there any doubt about the killing; in both cases the defense interposed was the insanity of the accused. Horace George Rayner killed Mr. Whiteley, a well-known merchant of London, two months ago. He has been brought to trial, convicted, and sentenced, and, unless the sentence is commuted or he is pardoned by the Home Secretary, he will be executed within three months after the offense. The trial took one day. Harry Thaw killed Stanford White nine months ago. He has been brought to trial; the trial has already lasted about seven weeks, and unless all proceedings are stopped on the ground that he is now insane, it will probably last at least a week longer; and if he is convicted and the conviction is sustained on appeal, it will probably be three years at least before he can be made to suffer the penalty of his crime. Nor is delay the only fault in the American procedure. The only question in this case has been, Was Thaw so insane when he killed Stanford White that he is not morally responsible for the deed? The defense has insisted that he was so insane, the prosecution that he was not. Now the prosecution has become convinced that Thaw, though sane when he killed White, is incurably insane now; while the defense is equally sure that though he was insane when he killed White, he is quite sane now. And now the Judge has been considering the wisdom of appointing a commission of experts to determine Thaw's present sanity. If he was insane when he committed the act, he ought not to be executed; if he is insane now, he ought not to be tried. Common sense would suggest that what the Judge is asked to do now, the law ought to authorize him to do in the beginning—appoint a commission of experts, but with power to pass on both questions, his insanity then and his insanity now. The decision of such a commission of experts ought to be conclusive. From it there should be no appeal to a body of non-experts, whether of judges or of jurors. The only appeal to the courts should be on the question whether the expert commission was properly constituted. The impartiality of the commission might be guarded by allowing both prosecution and defense a certain number of objections for cause, such as are now allowed in constituting the jury. There is something grimly grotesque in the method which the law now pursues. To determine whether Thaw *was* insane when he killed Stanford White we summon experts paid by the defense, who testify that he was insane; experts paid by the State, who testify that he was not insane; and a jury of non-experts to decide between the disagreeing doctors. But as soon as the question changes to *Is* Thaw insane now? it is proposed to dismiss both sets of experts and the non-expert jury, and constitute a non-partisan tribunal of experts to decide that question. Why not constitute such a tribunal at the outset to determine both questions?

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The Consumers' League

The National Consumers' League held its eighth annual meeting in Chicago on March 5. Of the five bills adopted the year before, as its programme of Federal legislation, three are already enacted and in force—namely, the bills providing for compulsory education in

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the District of Columbia, for pure food, and for an investigation of the conditions of work of women and children in industry. Thus two of the bills remain to be passed by the Sixtieth Congress, one creating a Children's Bureau in the Federal Government, and one regulating child labor in the District of Columbia. Besides these, promotion of the Beveridge Child Labor Bill was this year adopted as a part of the programme of the National Consumers' League. After the enactment of laws, Federal and State, comes the less exciting task of enforcement. For this purpose the League has taken part in the effort to obtain a Federal appropriation adequate to the enforcement of the National Pure Food Law. For the coming year the League proposes to gather information on the standard of living of workingwomen as a basis for future intelligent action. Through its sixty-one leagues in twenty-one States it will co-operate with the kindred investigation by the Department of Labor and Commerce with all available agencies, official and unofficial. Live questions are the minimum wage and the hours of labor. Parasite industries consume young children, and pay to girls such wages that their families must contribute a share of maintenance. The extent of this parasitism has not been ascertained for any State or any industry. This is one main object of the present investigation. Another, of equal importance, is to discover the extent and result of unrestricted working hours. No progress has been made in the direction of a shorter working day for women. Teachers alone have a short day, and this is solely because their pupils cannot endure a longer one. In the trades the tendency is to get rid of all the slender protection hitherto afforded by State laws. Both the courts and the legislatures of various States have contributed to this movement. In Illinois the Supreme Court annulled the eight-hour law for women in 1895. The New Jersey Legislature of 1903 repealed the protecting statute in that State. This year in New York the highest court has been asked to destroy the law protecting women from work at night, and the Legislature is, at the date of writing, besieged by manufacturers seeking to make away also with limitation of hours. Meanwhile, the movement to protect men from overwork gains strength each year, and each year more legislation for this end is enacted. The miners in Arizona, Colorado, Missouri, Utah, and Montana have an eight-hour day established by statute. Men employed by contractors for the Federal Government work only eight hours a day, and the same limitation of hours is, in many States both East and West, imposed by law on contractors for State or municipal works. Indeed, so urgent has been the demand that the State, as a model employer, shall require no more than eight hours' labor from all men directly or indirectly employed on public works, that at the election of 1905 the Constitution of New York State was amended to provide for such a restriction. In addition, the army of letter-carriers (among whom there are only a handful of women) are protected by an eight-hour law, and at the recent session of Congress the unanimous demand of the railway telegraphers—all of them men—resulted in obtaining a restriction of their working hours to nine in twenty-four. Given a sufficiently urgent demand, the restriction of men's hours of labor is proved practically possible. The National Consumers' League holds, therefore, that concerted action is needed towards this end for workingwomen. Before legislation can be enacted and enforced public opinion must be informed, and it is to this task that the League addresses itself.

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The British Premier Outlines England's Policy

The Speaker, the well-known organ of English Liberal political opinion, has become The Nation, and its initial number is marked by an editorial from the British Prime Minister, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, on the attitude of his country at the forthcoming Hague Conference regarding disarmament. He holds as baseless those objections brought up both in Great Britain and in other countries against raising the question of the limitation of armaments, and contends that the original Peace Conference at The Hague was convened for the

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very purpose of discussing this question. Though the Conference failed to reach an agreement, Sir Henry declares that he never heard of any injurious consequence resulting from its discussion, and that it is the business of those opposing the renewal of the attempts to bring up this question to show that some special and essential change in the circumstances has arisen, to make another discussion inopportune. He then argues that if at the first Peace Congress it was desirable to attempt to limit the burden of armaments, it is still more desirable to-day, because this burden has enormously increased. He adds that the suspicion held eight years ago has grown to something like a certainty to-day, namely, that no limits could be set to the competitive struggle for sea power save by economic exhaustion. At the same time the points of divergence among the Powers have become not only less acute, but are confined to a far smaller field. Finally, general sentiment in favor of peace is now incomparably stronger than it was at the time of the first Hague Conference, and a peaceful adjustment of international disputes has attained both a practical potency and a moral authority undreamed of then. Turning from these general considerations to England's special position, Sir Henry says: "We have already given an earnest of our sincerity by considerable reductions in our naval and military expenditure, and we are prepared to go further if we find a similar disposition in other quarters. Our delegates, therefore, will not go to the Conference empty-handed." It has been suggested, however, that England's example will count for nothing, because her naval preponderance will remain unimpaired. To this Sir Henry well replies that throughout the world Great Britain's sea power is recognized as non-aggressive and innocent of designs against either the independence or the legitimate development of other nations: "Our known adhesion to two dominant principles, the independence of nationalities and the freedom of trade, entitles us to claim that, if our fleets are invulnerable, they carry with them no menace across the waters of the world, but a message of the most cordial good will." This message, coinciding with America's position, is based on an unalterable belief in the community of interests among nations.

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Russia
The Government's Programme

Last week in the Duma, or Lower House of the Russian Parliament, Premier Stolypin laid down the Government's policy regarding certain reforms. They are as follows: Freedom of speech, of the press, of association and worship; habeas corpus on the same basis as other States; a single form of martial law; local self-government; reform of the zemstvos, or provincial councils; responsibility of officials; agrarian reforms; and popular education. This is substantially a restatement of the Emperor's manifesto of 1905, as follows:

> We therefore direct our Government to carry out our inflexible will in the following manner:
>
> First—To extend to the population the immutable foundations of civic liberty, based on the real inviolability of person, freedom of conscience, speech, union, and association.
>
> Second—Without suspending the already ordered elections to the State Duma, to invite to participation in the Duma, so far as the limited time before the convocation of the Duma will permit, those classes of the population now completely deprived of electoral rights, leaving the ultimate development of the principle of electoral rights in general to the newly established legislative order of things.
>
> Third—To establish as an unchangeable rule that no law shall be enforceable without the approbation of the State Duma, and that it shall be possible for the elected [representatives] of the people to exercise real participation in the supervision of the legality of the acts of the authorities appointed by us.

The Prime Minister's declaration of policy was courteous in tone, and was received in respectful silence. But the first speech, that of Prince Zereteli, of the Caucasus, on behalf of the Socialists, provoked vehement discussion. He moved for the rejection of the Premier's programme, and for a declaration of war against the Government. Very different was the speech of Prince Dolgoruki, which followed; he is a distinguished member of the Russian nobility, is a philanthropist and statesman. He moved that the Duma, having heard the ministerial programme, should proceed with

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the order of the day. In this he was supported not only by the Constitutional Democrats, but by the Nationalists and the Group of Toil, which together formed a sufficient majority. This action is equivalent to saying: "We receive the programme of the Premier, but at the present moment we make no statement as to what our final attitude upon it shall be."

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Russia: The Duma's Attitude

The programme presented on behalf of the Czar by Premier Stolypin is in some of its aspects admirable. Freedom of speech, freedom of the press, freedom of worship, popular education, and the establishment of habeas corpus will appear to Americans to form a great advance towards general civil liberty. Unfortunately, however, the programme has been skillfully framed to present an appearance of advance without the reality. As Mr. Aladin has pointed out, how can a universal law of court martial and the right of habeas corpus—that is to say, absolute military authority and absolute civil authority—exist at the same time in the same State? How can the people feel assured that these laws, if passed or approved by the Duma, may not at any moment be suspended or annulled by the personal word of the Czar, as actually happened in the case of the manifesto of 1905? This situation explains the silence with which the Duma received a government programme so glittering with promises of freedom. Americans must be careful not to be misled by such promises in forming their judgment concerning the conflict in Russia. So long as the Russian monarch enjoys an absolute right of veto, so long will the Russian people continue to be held in political slavery. The encouraging feature of the situation is twofold: first, the Czar has begun to feel the latent power of the people—enough at least to ask their indorsement of laws framed and executed by himself; second, the popular and democratic wing of the Duma has exercised and displayed a remarkable power of organization and self-control. In our judgment, it would be a distinct step backward for the Duma to accept the programme of Premier Stolypin. If internal peace is to come in Russia, the Duma must first establish beyond question its own legislative initiative and authority.

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The Pope Confirms Archbishop Ireland

Archbishop Ireland's statement regarding the attitude of some of the French clergy in the conflict between Church and State in France, reported in The Outlook last week as part of his admirable discussion of the whole subject, is apparently confirmed by a statement recently made by the Pope to Bishop Thomas O'Gorman, of Sioux Falls, South Dakota. In a telegraphic synopsis of the interview with Bishop O'Gorman the Pope is reported to have said that Archbishop Ireland's explanation was correct, and that the failure of many of the French clergy and of representative lay Roman Catholics to follow the advice given by Leo XIII. was responsible for recent troubles. The uncertainty in regard to the permanence of the republican form of government in France may be said to have been settled when M. Grévy became President. Unfortunately, many priests and members of the Roman Catholic party were unable or unwilling to read the signs of the times and to accept the Republic as finally established. Thereupon Leo XIII. put forth an encyclical, which attracted wide attention at the time, in which he called upon the bishops and clergy of the French Church cordially and sincerely to support the Republic; and he repeated this advice and restated this position several times afterwards, whenever a fitting opportunity arrived. Unfortunately, many of the clergy refused to follow the lead of the statesmanlike Pope. The French aristocracy as a class is strongly Catholic, and is entirely out of touch with modern France. Its members have been blind to the course of events since the Revolution. Many teachers in Roman Catholic schools were not only reactionary in their tendencies, but instilled into the minds of boys hatred of the Republic. This unfortunate attitude, as Archbishop

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Ireland has pointed out, and as confirmed by Pope Pius X., has unquestionably been the occasion for the legislation in France which culminated in the annulment of the Concordat. Entirely aside from the question of the manner in which the separation of Church and State has been brought about, and recognizing the fact that in the agitation there has been much feeling which was not only anti-Catholic but anti-religious, it remains true that the great body of believers in the Republic in France, a majority of whom are Catholics, have felt that republican institutions were in peril unless the teaching was changed, and came reluctantly to the conclusion that the absolute separation of Church and State was essential if republican ideals are to be permanently established and universally accepted in France.

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The Discoverer of Acetylene Gas and Smokeless Powder

France follows Italy in national mourning. The Italian poet Carducci was not more eminent in literature than the French *savant* Pierre Berthelot in science. As was the case with his lifelong friends, Renan and Pasteur, the man in Berthelot transcended the technician. All three were types of generous manhood, uniting many engaging personal qualities which made them pre-eminently popular as professors. Therefore they were as beloved as they were eminent. Long a professor in the Collège de France, Berthelot's scientific work covered a particularly wide field. He had received his doctor's degree on presentation of a remarkable thesis giving an account of his artificial reproduction of natural fats. He was thus one of the pioneers of organic synthesis, and his labors in the determination of the carbon groups was perhaps the largest contribution to chemical progress made during the last half-century. His most celebrated discoveries were those of acetylene gas and smokeless powder. He thus made the whole world his debtor. The highest scientific honors were showered upon him, but he especially treasured the distinction of succeeding Pasteur as Permanent Secretary of the Academy of Sciences. When, a generation ago, Paris was threatened both by the Prussians and by the Communists, Berthelot was put at the head of the Scientific Committee of Defense, and his investigations in this connection led to his invention of smokeless powder and other important explosives. If his ideal of service to his fellow-men included, first of all, contributions from his own profession to the common weal, it also included energetic action in the political movements of his day. Accordingly he became a Deputy and then a Senator, contributing much of value to current legislation. He became Inspector-General of Higher Education, and did a work supplementary to that already accomplished by Jules Ferry. Finally, as Foreign Minister, he showed himself apparently as competent as he had in his laboratory. Berthelot's death was peculiarly pathetic, and again contradicts the opinion of some that there are but few happy and faithful wedded lives in France. Madame Berthelot, seventy years old, had been very ill. Her husband, eighty years old, insisted on keeping continual watch by her bedside. When, last week, her end came, his grief induced an attack of syncope, and he fell dead.

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Quarrelsome Republics

Apparently the petty war in Central America has practically ended in a complete victory for Nicaragua, and the troops of that country are about to occupy the capital of Honduras, Tegucigalpa. There appears to have been one battle of some fierceness fought, in which the Nicaraguans and their revolutionary allies were successful, and this was followed by the occupation of the most strongly fortified city in Honduras, Choluteca. This in turn was immediately followed by the flight of President Bonilla, of Honduras, who is supposed to be on the point of taking passage by steamship to some foreign port. Rumors of an attempt on the part of fiery Honduran generals and of equally fiery and ambitious soldiers and politicians from Salvador, the ally of Honduras, to renew the strife will, it may be profoundly hoped, prove without basis. This is the kind of a struggle which may be better characterized as a quarrel than as a war.

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Now that the fight is over, it is to be hoped that we may in time learn its cause; certainly no reasonable and intelligible account of any adequate justification for war has reached this country. Disputes about incursions and trespasses by one side or another amount to little more than mutual recriminations, and nothing more regrettable in the history of the Central American republics has ever occurred than the fact that these three little nations found it necessary to break off a peaceful arbitration proceeding to which they had been persuaded by the great nations of both North and South America and hastily resort to arms. Among the many absurd tales which cloud the issues involved is one in which the initial dispute appears to have been about a mysterious mule. If this be true, the animal in question was certainly not the only obstinate and ungovernable party to the transaction.

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Student Recruits

To put the claim of the Christian ministry before strong men and make it appeal to the modern man is the object of a new movement among students. In many respects it corresponds to the Student Volunteer Movement, which has for several years been influential in drawing vigorous, well-equipped young men and women into foreign missionary service. Last December a number of college students, among those assembled in a Conference of the Young Men's Christian Association at Pacific Grove, California, discovered that they were expecting to enter the ministry. The result was that they organized themselves as Student Recruits for the Christian Ministry, for the following purpose, as stated by themselves:

> Our object is (1) to unite all students who purpose to enter the ministry, (2) to secure for the members organized fellowship in this purpose, and (3) to promote aggressively the consideration of the ministry as a vocation for Christian young men.

The two essential features of this movement are the signing of this declaration: "It is my purpose, if God will, to become a minister of Jesus Christ;" and the acceptance of the object. Originating in California, the movement has, of course, its existence principally in that State. The movement has the same general object as that of the conferences established by the students of Union Theological Seminary, New York, three years ago (and held annually since then)—for the purpose of commending to college students the opportunities and work of the ministry. Mr. John R. Mott, besides, has held conferences with college students on the same subject. It has often been maintained that both the numbers and the quality of men entering the ministry have in recent years been lowered. It is an encouraging fact to note that these movements undertaken to correct a downward tendency have originated, not among ill-trained men, but among those from whom the most effective ministers should be recruited.

❀

Our Father

An Easter Thought

The Lord's Prayer is contained in the two words with which it opens; and its various petitions are only amplifications of its devout and beautiful approach to God. In these words the whole movement of religious thought from the earliest Hebrew divinations of the Infinite is recorded; in them the soul of the religion of Christ is enshrined. The great First Cause, from whom the worlds proceeded and by whom the measureless forces of the universe were set in motion; the sublime Lawgiver, hidden by the clouds on Mount Sinai; the King of kings, set high above all the rulers of the alien races; the absolute Monarch whose will made right, and whose act stood justified because infinite power was behind it—all these lesser and partial conceptions became shadows of the night when the day broke on the world in the blessed word Father. Creator, lawgiver, ruler of rulers, sovereign over all men, he was and is; but these are not He; these are His functions; He is the Father. In the music of that word the discords of life begin to recede into the distance; in the unsounded depths of love in that word care and toil and sorrow and death take on a new meaning; in that sublime

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word immortality rises like a star on the night of doubt and despair.

The first words of the New Testament set the Christ in the heart of the family and ally him with all the generations of his people from the days of the first patriarch. He lay in his mother's arms when the wise men brought the symbolic gifts; in a human home he learned the lessons set for all children born of woman; from that home he went up, a dutiful boy, to worship in the Temple as his fathers had done before him; in the shelter of that home he grew in strength and in that wisdom which begins with the fear of the Lord and ends with the joyful acceptance of His will; when he was lifted above the crowd of mockers and idlers and helpless disciples, in his hour of lonely agony, his prayer was, "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do;" and when the end came, he cried with a loud voice, "Father, into thy hands I commend my spirit."

In all the wonderful story of a life which grows more luminous with truth as time turns its penetrating lights upon it, the Christ is set always in the family; and the phrases which describe him ignore the division of time and eternity, the distinction between earth and heaven; he is always the son of God and the son of man. He never for an hour stands by himself; everywhere and at all times he is first and foremost a son, and his sonship is at once human and divine. A human mother suffers in his birth, broods over the manger in which he lies and watches over his infancy; a divine Father calls him out of his home, directs his life, clothes him with power, lays on him the awful privilege of self-sacrifice, speaks through his words, his nature, his life, puts death under his feet, lights for him the glorious morning of the resurrection, and receives him again unto Himself. On that wonderful morning of the first Easter, when the light that never was to go out in darkness broke on every grave, he said, "I ascend unto my Father and unto your Father;" and when, later, the doors were shut on the disciples trembling between great fear and great joy, he stood in the midst of them and said: "Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent me, even so send I you;" and he gave command that all men should be baptized "into the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost."

In the story which culminated in the resurrection, the Lord, although often lonely, solitary, and forsaken, is always the incarnation of the Father's love and purpose, of the son's obedience and self-sacrifice, of the immortality and unity of the family in heaven and on earth. In him the hidden relationship between God and man becomes visible; through him the love of the Father for his children streams like a great light; in his return from the sepulcher all the members of the family return victorious. From that sublime hour when he stepped forth serene and immortal from the tomb where they had laid him, the light shines back over the long road to the manger in Bethlehem and the figure of the wondering mother, and everywhere the mystery of the double parentage is revealed and explained. It is no longer a broken and defeated human life ending in a dishonored death; it is a human life transfigured by the divine. It is no longer the sad tale of a lonely man walking the way to the cross; it is the triumphant journey of the son of Mary and of God doing his Father's will on the earth and making all men aware that there is but one life here and there, one family on earth and in heaven, one Father alike in the homes built by the hands of men and the many mansions where the angels are.

Out of every home the dark and narrow gate of death opens in some hour of mystery and suffering, as it opened out of the little home in Galilee on the day of the crucifixion; and they that pass through come back no more, for they are with Him who held the gate ajar that the dream of Paradise might come true in the faith of men and the light of the Father's face might shine through the darkness. Son of man and son of God, the Christ stands between the invisible Father and the great household of his children; revealer of that love which is stronger than death, in which the family on earth and the family in heaven are bound together in immortal unity.

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Thomas Bailey Aldrich

"I wonder what day of the week,
I wonder what week of the year,
Will it be the midnight or morning,
And who will bend over my bier?

What a hideous fancy to come,
As I wait at the foot of the stair,
While Eleanor gives the last touch
To her robes or the rose in her hair!

'Do I like your new dress, pompadour?
And do I like you?'—on my life,
You are eighteen and not a day more,
And haven't been six years my wife!

Those two rosy boys upstairs,
In the crib, are not ours! To be sure,
You're just a sweet bride in her bloom,
All sunshine and snowy and pure!

As the carriage rolls down the dark street,
The little wife laughs and makes cheer;
But I wonder what day of the week,
I wonder what week of the year!"

It was impossible to associate age with Mr. Aldrich; there seemed to be nothing in common between his fresh feeling, his gayety of mood, the vivacity of his unforced and unfailing wit, the youth of his spirit, and any fading of imagination, any decline of vitality of mind. It is impossible to associate death with him unless one has wholly escaped the superstition which made the angel of the great emancipation the awful intruder of mediæval fancy. The simple wreath on the door of the home from which he had gone and on the purple pall that covered the mortal part of him when the last words were spoken was the symbol of his escape out of mortality, of the final freedom of the spirit, of the ultimate mastery. Fortune had long smiled on him, and did not turn from him at the end. Save one great sorrow, the years brought him gifts with generous hands. He had great happiness in the sanctuary of his life; he had troops of friends; he was surrounded by the books he loved; he had freedom from the cares of life, and leisure for travel, for work, for the art of friendship; he had the kind of recognition he valued; he not only finished his work, but he put on it the final touches of his fastidious art; and when all was done, he withdrew before any sadness of declining power came to him.

In its commemoration of his seventieth birthday last December, The Outlook, commenting on his power of self-criticism, said that he had so completed and sifted his work that his future editors will have little to do: "If one is compelled to choose between the nine or ten volumes of moderate compass which contain his prose and verse, one will take them all; for they fill small space on the shelf, and they bear the touch of a wonderfully sure hand. The wit of the poet is likely to preserve him from mutilation; he will escape the process which has rejected a large part of Wordsworth, Victor Hugo, and Whitman—to suggest the poets who lacked the salt of wit—in order to preserve the residuum from the impatience of later generations. He has, fortunately, taken himself seriously as an artist and not as a prophet, and has escaped the melancholy moments when the oracle speaks from habit rather than from imagination."

Mr. Aldrich was born in an old seaport, about whose wharves still linger the spicy odors of the days when the Far East paid tribute to New England. Unlike his contemporaries in the field of letters, he did not walk the well-trodden path through the university; his evolution was individual, and, like Mr. Howells, he nourished his imagination and formed his taste largely by familiarity with modern literature. The air of New Orleans, where he had the good fortune to spend a part of his childhood, may have aided in the development of his native aptitude for the romantic, the picturesque, the dramatic, conceived in lyrical mood. Whatever may be the reason, the strenuous temper was not in him.

Born in Portsmouth, he was loyal not only to the sea but to the old town so familiar to every reader of "The Story of a Bad Boy." Predestined as surely as was Dr. Holmes to live in Boston, and to take keen satisfaction in the fact, Mr. Aldrich was not, like the author of the "Autocrat," a product of New England in the forms of his thought; one must look deeper for the New England element in him. He wholly escaped the didacticism which sometimes blurred the art of his predecessors; he was born after the time which Lowell recalled when he said that all New England was a pulpit. He was not lacking in ethical

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convictions, nor did he hesitate to express them; but he was a poet, not a reformer. He never questioned the wisdom of Providence in sending singers to refresh and cheer men, as well as preachers to arouse and stir them; and he wisely chose to sing. It is in his lucidity, his keenness, his love of things good and pure, his deep-going refinement, his exacting conscientiousness, and in a certain clarity of vision and reticence, that one finds the evidences of his rootage in New England. He gains the ends of rich expression without a touch of sensuousness; he is gay without being frivolous, and free without a suggestion of license. The atmosphere of his mind has the cool, clear breath of the New England climate; the outlines of the world which lies in his imagination are soft without being hazy, and full of a beauty which has delicacy of fragrance and color rather than tropical warmth and richness.

In reading his verse one becomes aware of a certain reserve which is neither coldness nor caution, but an instinctive conviction that some things must be left to the imagination. He does not move one so quickly as many poets who sacrifice the finer qualities to immediate effect; but what he writes preserves its charm, and, by its very restraint and moderation, gives an impression of finality. In the most popular of all his poems, "Baby Bell," there is this fine reticence which gives sorrow the poise and dignity of an experience that will hold its place and keep its significance long after the violence of the first emotion is spent.

So light is Mr. Aldrich's touch that the careless reader is in danger of missing its essential vigor; for, with all his grace, Mr. Aldrich is a poet of masculine fiber. There is in his work none of the vagueness of aspiration which so often rests like a faint and rosy mist on contemporary poetry; the outlines are distinct, the feeling is definite, the thought is sharply limned. The workmanship is delicate, sometimes dainty, but it is like the tracery on a Damascus blade, which embellishes the surface without weakening the fiber. The trained ear hears a note in this poetry which sometimes escapes those who have not studied it closely; a note full of a quiet, gentle resonance and vibration, with a suggestion of carrying power. Such fragments of imagination as "Identity," "Destiny," "An Untimely Thought," haunt one with a sense of perfection, and carry in them the promise of haunting the memories of other generations. Indeed, this impression of longevity grows upon one as he reads Mr. Aldrich's verse with care: it is so portable; it can be carried so easily; so much of it has the aerial quality of those seventeenth-century songs which beguile and delight us as if they had floated into the world with last spring's flowers. There is good reason to believe that when much of the strenuous, didactic, emotional verse of the last thirty years has been forgotten, Mr. Aldrich will still be having his day.

The artists have a way of imposing upon their own times by the very harmony which evidences their power. They escape observation, as do perfect dress or manners, by freedom from excess, extravagance, or idiosyncrasy. Mr. Aldrich lived through the storm and stress of the last two decades of literary history without any apparent deflection from his orbit. He was familiar with what the younger poets have been doing in France, in England, and in this country; but the lark in the field remotest from the highway could not be more free from any suggestion of agitation of spirit or uncertainty of artistic aim. It is possible that this aloofness was due in part to lack of quick sympathies with contemporary experience; it is more probable that it was due to a very clear perception of artistic aims and a very keen appraisal of artistic resources. Mr. Aldrich appeared to know exactly what he wished to do. His instinct as an artist had the most careful training; his intelligence as an artist is shown alike in the apparent ease of hand in some of his lines and the evident nicety of touch in others. He secured detachment of mood without loss of freshness and reality, and he has, consequently, written for the eye and ear of the future. He cared more for perfection than for praise; and was content to speak a little less fervently to his own generation. So the finely trained orator

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often husbands his voice in order that its tones may fall, resonant and musical, on the ear of the farthest circle. The sonnet on "Sleep," for instance, has the quality of gathering feeling and disclosing thought in the exact degree in which one becomes familiar with it; the spell of the exquisite "Nocturne" steadily deepens as one yields to its delicate but ardent imagery; and where shall one turn for finer and freer description of the quality which goes home to the imagination than that which touches these lines with a skill quite beyond calculated craftsmanship:

"This is her Book of Verses—wren-like notes,
Shy frankness, blind gropings, haunting fears;
At times across the chords abruptly floats
A mist of passionate tears."

Those who confound restraint with coldness will also confuse art with skill, and emphasize Mr. Aldrich's fastidious craftsmanship at the expense of his spontaneity and force of imagination. Against this easy and superficial judgment the poet has protested in lines which constitute a confession of poetic faith, and which ought to be pondered in these days of easy writing and rapid printing:

"'Let art be all in all,' one time I said,
And straightway stirred the hypercritic gall.
I said not, 'Let technique be all in all,'
But art—a wider meaning. Worthless, dead—
The shell without its pearl, the corpse of things—
Mere words are, till the spirit lends them wings.
The poet who wakes no soul within his lute
Falls short of art: 'twere better he were mute.

The workmanship wherewith the gold is wrought
Adds yet a richness to the richest gold;
Who lacks the art to shape his thought, I hold,
Were little poorer if he lacked the thought.
The statue's slumber were unbroken still
In the dull marble, had the hand no skill.
Disparage not the magic touch that gives
The formless thought the grace whereby it lives."

Tennyson was not more exacting in the matter of workmanship than was Mr. Aldrich; and the fastidiousness of both poets has its root in love of perfection, which is only another name for the artist's conviction that his work is done only when his thought takes such possession of a form that the two live henceforth immortal as one.

In reading the slender volumes of verse which record Mr. Aldrich's poetic activity, from "Baby Bell" to "Judith," one sometimes recalls Tennyson and sometimes Alfred de Musset; but Mr. Aldrich's quality and art were wholly his own. If he came under powerful influences, he escaped that subjugation of individuality which issues in imitation. His charm was individual, and can be explained only by reference to his own personality. Whatever his limitations of artistic perception and power, his field was his own, and he was master of it. His work is so significant, in its combination of purely poetic quality with a perfection of workmanship unique in American poetry, that it deserves wider attention than it has received. He belongs with the makers of pure song; the Herricks and Lovelaces, in whom American poetry has not been rich.

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The Don and the Athlete

It is more than a coincidence that in England, where university sport is clean, public life is comparatively free from corruption. The standards of fair play which the English youth imbibes in his public school and in his university remain with him as standards in political procedure and commercial transactions. The contrast between England and the United States in this respect is not to our credit. The criticism has been often made that we Americans take our sport too seriously. It is victory in sport that we take too seriously; but sport as a species of conduct we have not yet taken seriously enough. Yale, it would probably be conceded by almost everyone, has achieved pre-eminence for athletic prowess. What, then, do Yale men take pride in? and what do other college men envy Yale for? Do Yale men, as they should, exhibit more disgust at unfairness in a Yale team than their opponents do, and more than they exhibit at a Yale defeat? And

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are not other college men exactly like Yale men in this respect? These questions suggest what is chiefly wrong about American college sport. It is not its roughness; it is not chiefly its extravagance; it is its lack of wholesome standards of frankness and honesty.

Two college men, it is related in the Harvard Bulletin, were playing golf in an intercollegiate match. One man lost his ball, and, after the time allowed for search had elapsed, had to concede the hole to his opponent. Then his opponent, having accepted the score, pointed out the lost ball behind a bush, and explained that he could not have shown it before because he was playing for the honor of his college!

In the face of such a spirit as that, which is displayed in all forms of sport, the agitation about the abolition of football—or any other one game—is beside the point. What is needed is not the riddance of this game or the promulgation of that rule; it is rather the establishment and maintenance, from one college generation to another, of sound traditions.

The natural agents for the handing down of such traditions are those members of the university teaching force who have had athletic experience as undergraduates, and who are yet near enough to the undergraduate body to understand its common opinions and common feelings. It is by means of such men as these, whose interest in athletics has not lost its edge, and yet whose maturity and position enable them to be critical of the too eager love of winning, that wholesome traditions of sport in Oxford and Cambridge are transmitted. Such a man was Leslie Stephen when he was one of the two tutors at Trinity Hall, Cambridge. He was, as Lord Justice Sir Robert Romer says, a "great athlete." One of the men who was a student under him thus tells what Leslie Stephen did: "He *made* that boat of 1859, which was the pioneer of all Trinity Hall's rowing successes during these last fifty years. . . . He did all this for the ulterior purpose of making men of us and not loafers. . . . It was Leslie Stephen who did the 'making' of our and the next generation of undergraduates." Not every tutor can be a genius like Leslie Stephen; but many men of less brilliance have done like service. It is by means of men of similar character and position that like traditions have been established and are now preserved in at least one American college.

The authorities at Harvard, it seems to us, have taken a step backward in reconstituting the Athletic Committee. They have decreed that the faculty representatives on that committee shall be selected, not by virtue of their interest in athletics and their intimacy with the undergraduate body, but by virtue of their administrative offices in the University. The qualities which have caused these men to be chosen to their offices are not the qualities which would assure their interest in athletics. Indeed, the very recommendation in accordance with which they were designated to act upon the Athletic Committee indicates that they will not be expected to take an active part in athletic management. If athletic sports are essentially bad, they ought to be abolished; but if they are essentially good, they ought to be under the direction of those who are greatly interested in athletic sports.

A professional trainer whose bad influence on college athletics has been notorious is reported to have remarked to a number of graduates who were considering the constitution of an athletic committee, "Don't put on any of them young profs who have been on the teams. Put on some of the old duffers; we can pull the wool over their eyes."

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The Spectator

Certain places in the Spectator's experience realize—in the old Yankee phrase, "come up to"—their reputations, or the suggestion of their names. Land's End is one of these in its finality of rugged desolation, and so also is the North Cape. In a contrasted, antipodal sense, the same may be said of Chelsea, that section of London on the Thames, some four miles southwest of Trafalgar Square, associated with literary and artistic worthies. To any one who visits it, as did the Spectator last summer on a

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fine June afternoon, it has an atmosphere congenial to art and letters. Despite the complaint of an English friend, who as a small boy lived neighbor to Carlyle, that Chelsea "is spoiled by its very tiresome apartment-houses," the park-like effect and the river glimpses of Cheyne Walk on the embankment, the thick-foliaged trees that shade it and Cheyne Row out of it, in which Carlyle lived so long, and the old houses of gentle if not aristocratic origin, are still there to give an effect both quaint and picturesque. Thus Chelsea, at least near the Thames, is still a place where, as Dickens once said, "the city and country have met half-way to shake hands," the sort of place the devotee of art and letters might naturally choose for the last days, if not for working days. Curiously enough, three Chelsea houses, but a short distance apart, are noted, not as homes of the distinguished, but as the places where they died. It was to obscure lodgings here that Turner, the great colorist, fled from Cavendish Square when his powers began to fail—lodgings in which, when too feeble to walk, he was taken up into a little balcony on the top to bask in the sunlight that had been his life. Here returned Whistler, after closing his Paris home and studio following the death of his wife, to be buried shortly from the old Chelsea Church where he had often attended service with his mother. And here died George Eliot, in a house, like Whistler's, facing the Thames—of whose river views she made such frequent mention in her letters after her marriage to Mr. Cross—a house in which she was permitted to live but nineteen brief days.

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Of course the ostensible object in looking up Chelsea, the reason one gives to an unsympathetic friend who expects a reason for doing any particular thing on a trip, is to see the Carlyle house. In the Spectator's case this proved an object easier planned than executed, as his cabman had never heard of Carlyle or his house. This was a fact, as the cabman professed to have convoyed numerous Americans to various parts of London, to raise an unpleasant suspicion that all but a saving remnant of the Spectator's compatriots were indifferent to the Sage. The house, as the guide-books state, is now a "museum," and is full of "relics," things which, the Spectator is obliged to confess, he is not enough of a hero-worshiper to appreciate himself, although he approves of them for others as officially indorsed stimuli to sympathy with literary celebrities. Among the "relics," the Spectator cared most for the letters to Mrs. Carlyle, which brought close home a realization of the writer's solicitous tenderness, something that appeals far more convincingly to the eye from the written than from the familiar printed page. Then, too, there was the typical English tub, which looked more absurdly small than ever as one imagined the great prophet compelled every morning to squat crampedly in it for his early ablutions. The bright bit of garden behind the house, where the Carlyles must have passed so many pleasant hours, meant far more to the Spectator, as suggesting the home life, than any number of household things conventionally arranged. Then the house itself fits the street and neighborhood as invitingly as it looks in the well-known pictures of it. For description of the interior one can do no better than Carlyle himself, who wrote to his wife in 1834, when thinking of taking it: "The house itself is eminent, antique, wainscoted to the very ceiling; broadish stair with massive balustrade (in the old style), corniced, and thick as one's thigh; floors thick as rock, and the wood of them here and there worm-eaten, yet capable of cleanness and still with thrice the strength of the modern floor. And then as to rooms, Goody! Three stories beside the sunk story, in every one of them three apartments, in depth something like forty feet in all."

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The house E. W. Godwin designed and built for Whistler is only a short walk away, in Tite Street. One would suppose, owing to the fame of the Whistler portrait of Carlyle, if for nothing else—a portrait painted when they were almost neighbors—that the good dame who has charge of the Carlyle house would be able to give inquirers exact

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directions for finding the Whistler house. This, the Spectator discovered, she was entirely unequal to, her directions having the indefiniteness characteristic of the person who, with one story to tell over and over, ventures from the daily round. Being of white brick, the house is easy to locate, which is all to be said of its exterior. Built on the street, with a plain, unrelieved squareness of outline, it is simply ugly, with nothing about it to suggest the specially designed house of the great artist. It is thus in painful contrast with Rossetti's home—one of the most attractive houses of the vicinity, with a pleasant garden in front, and an entrance through a fine iron gateway. Doubtless it pleased Whistler to heighten the effect of the interior by the uninviting, if not forbidding, character of the exterior. "By the irony of fate," as Whistler's friend Mr. Arthur Jerome Eddy tells in his "Reminiscences," "the 'White House' [it was so called from its bricks] was afterward occupied and much altered by the detested critic of the Times—detested, possibly, because he occupied and dared to alter the house—and Whistler asked, 'Shall the birthplace of art become the tomb of its parasite?'" This characteristic mot gives prophetic point to another, that when the "White House" was finally sold and Whistler moved out, he wrote: "'Except the Lord build the house, their labor is in vain that build it'—E. W. Godwin, R.S.A., built this one."

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In talking over Chelsea with his friend Mr. Ford Madox Hueffer—grandson of the Ford Madox Brown of the Pre-Raphaelite Circle—who as a small boy lived neighbor to Carlyle, the Spectator asked him whether he found in the Sage any of that gruffness traditionally associated with him. "On the contrary," was the reply, "the old man was exceptionally kind to youngsters. I remember," added Mr. Hueffer, "how I once got a rather bad tumble on Carlyle's doorstep, and he picked me up, set me on my feet, and assured me that 'it didn't hurt' in the most approved fatherly fashion." Trivial incident as this is, it is yet not without value as an index of character. For the Spectator accepts a common saying that a good test of genuineness is a person's attitude toward children, who can always be trusted to detect a sham. Perhaps the same can be said of one's attitude to a genius, who is almost sure to be one of Lowell's "incurable children." At any rate, Carlyle and Whistler lived on very friendly terms as neighbors and as artist and subject, though, as Mr. Eddy says, "seemingly no two beings could be less sympathetic." Mr. Eddy adds: "Yet the philosopher, who had so few good words for any one, who was the implacable foe of sham and falsehood, who was intolerant of the society of others, who cared little for art and less for artists, freely gave his time and society to the most unpopular painter in England." Indeed, they had a common bond, "the attitude of the one towards literature and what his fellow-writers were saying, and the attitude of the other towards art and what his fellow-painters were doing."

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Apropos of portraits of Chelsea celebrities, there is one in Geneva of George Eliot, who can only, as already explained, be counted of Chelsea because of dying there—a portrait, in the Spectator's opinion, worth looking up by any of his friends visiting Geneva, it gives such a different impression from the prints by which she is generally known. This Geneva portrait hangs in the University gallery in an assemblage of uncompromising reformers, patriots, and other worthies, who accentuate its pleasant contrast. It is the portrait of an attractively gowned young woman—at the time George Eliot, it is said, was thirty, but the portrait looks younger than that—with auburn hair, fine blue eyes, and a pink and white smooth skin. The portrait is full face, which accounts, perhaps, for an apparently normal length of nose. There is in it nothing of the likeness to Savonarola which most people see in the common profile print, with its lines of care, doubtless due to delicate health, which likeness has perhaps unconsciously suggested a swarthy Italian complexion.

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THE NEXT PRESIDENT

BY JOHN CALLAN O'LAUGHLIN

Correspondent of the Chicago Tribune

FIRST PAPER

REPUBLICAN POSSIBILITIES

THE Republican party has an embarrassment of riches in its Presidential possibilities. From their ranks it can draw a candidate associated in the public mind with any issue that may develop in the campaign of 1908. If it decide to "stand pat" on the tariff, there is Speaker Cannon. If it find revision necessary, there is Secretary Taft or Secretary Root. If radicalism become the central issue—and by radicalism is meant larger governmental control of corporations, including railways—there is Senator La Follette. If sound conservatism be considered desirable in order to offset the government ownership ideas of many Democrats, including William Jennings Bryan, there is Mr. Root again. If there should be wanted a happy mean between radicalism and conservatism—if, in other words, a man who will carry out President Roosevelt's policies be demanded—Secretary Taft once more forges to the front. If the party adopt a colorless platform, indorsing what has been done and repeating its indefinite pledge of 1904 with respect to tariff revision, there is the neutral Fairbanks.

Rarely is a tailor so happily situated that he can find a man to fit any coat he may decide to cut. The striking difference between an artist in such a situation and the Republican party is that the latter has many minds and does not know the kind of pattern to select or the back to fit it on when selected. Kansas, Massachusetts, and Wisconsin have declared for revision of the tariff. Other States also evince a leaning in that direction; but the President insists that such action is not desirable until the next administration, and Speaker Cannon does not believe it should be attempted then. Indeed, the Speaker may be expected to go into the field in his shirt-sleeves and urge his friends to send to the Republican Convention delegates instructed to insist upon the principle of protection as embodied in the present tariff law. As a natural consequence it would follow that Mr. Cannon himself would be the nominee.

Here, then, will be the first spectacular skirmish of the Presidential campaign, and the sound of firing will be heard as soon as the forces now being organized appear in the open. Men of opposite temperament in the party, like the President and Senator Crane, of Massachusetts, for example, are united in advocating the adoption of a revision plank. Defeated by revisionists, ex-Congressman McCleary, of Minnesota, is urging the Speaker to hold fast to extreme protection. If revision must come, Speaker Cannon would want it up instead of down; that is, he would favor a maximum and minimum tariff, with the Dingley Law the minimum. Mr. Dalzell, of Pennsylvania, returned to the House of Representatives by a reduced plurality, finds no warning in his humiliation. Nor, to hear them talk, do other advisers of Speaker Cannon heed the signs of the times. They have urged him to nail his colors to the mast, and he has done so. Speaker Cannon will rise or fall upon "stand-patism."

Now take Mr. Taft and Mr. Root, who have publicly assumed different ground from Cannon. "Speaking my individual opinion and for no one else," said Mr. Taft at Bath, Maine, during the campaign last September—"I believe since the passage of the Dingley Bill there

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has been a change in the business conditions of the country, making it wise and just to revise the schedules of the existing tariff." Here is a straight-from-the-shoulder declaration for revision, not three years hence, but immediately. Secretary Root, in a speech delivered in Washington January 14, referred to the necessity of reciprocal relations with foreign countries: "I do not think the subject of reciprocity can now be adequately considered or discussed without going into that broader subject, and that is the whole form of our tariff law. In my judgment, the United States must come to a maximum and minimum tariff." Everything the Secretary has said and done shows that he would like the Dingley Law made the maximum, with a lower scale for the minimum tariff. The difference between his attitude and that of Speaker Cannon is evident.

It is the purpose of the Republicans to make government ownership of public utilities a foremost issue of the campaign. Here they believe they will have the Democracy upon the hip. Mr. Bryan's withdrawal of his Government ownership declaration would seem to avert the possibility of this becoming a live issue. Not so if the Republicans can help it. They want to frighten the small investor as well as the large capitalist. They would like to range every man who holds or hopes to hold securities behind their candidate. They look back upon the campaign of 1896, and recall that it was these voters who sent President McKinley to the White House. Property-owners, big and little, feared the success of Mr. Bryan and his silver hobby. They felt that Mr. Bryan's election would disturb business and injure their interests.

I do not want to be a prophet of evil, but no one need be surprised should Wall Street bring home to property-holders in a most forceful way that not only must Government ownership be repudiated, but a safe man must be placed in the White House. Already the Street has demonstrated the effect of "Rooseveltism" by forcing down the values of securities, and greater depression is promised. In spite of the fact that the country is doing the largest import and export business in its history, that factories and mills cannot execute the orders given to them save under long delay, that the railways and other carriers are unable to handle expeditiously the freight placed in their charge, values are falling. Exposure is showing over-capitalization, which in part is responsible; but the real trouble lies in the desire of capital to compel general recognition of the evils of a progressive administration like that of Roosevelt, and the necessity of electing a man who may be depended upon to give what it terms a "square deal" to corporate interests. Apparently it is trying to drive public opinion uphill. Keen as are the individuals who control it, they fail to appreciate the force of the demand that all corporations serving the public, whether transportation, supply, or what not, shall do so, not for the profit of their stockholders, but for the benefit of the people.

It would be most unfortunate for any candidate to be nominated as the result of an agreement on the part of Wall Street financiers. But those interests that desire a "safe" candidate will point out that it is essential for Republican success that there should be a continuance of prosperous conditions. Prosperity was the slogan of 1904; it will be the battle-cry of 1908. "Let well enough alone" is a strong issue, and the people will be urged to leave the power in Republican hands because those hands have wrestled with and conquered huge governmental evils and will continue to deal with those yet unsettled and constantly arising. It will be pointed out that the President has recommended National supervision of corporations engaged in inter-State business; that he has recommended an income and inheritance tax; that he is paving the way to removing the evils of transportation, and that whenever and wherever it becomes necessary to protect the people from wrong and rapacity a remedy is devised and applied.

Which leads me to discuss what the President himself proposes to do—a matter of prime moment, as his conduct of the Government, his recommendations, and his vivid personality will be issues of the campaign. I think I may

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sum up his intentions by quoting a favorite expression he uses when referring to the Presidential campaign: "It is time for some one else to take his trick at the wheel." He says this with a finality that leaves no room for doubt. Hardly a day passes that the suggestion that he run is not made several times by men of political power, and it is repeated in hundreds of letters received from every section of the country, particularly the Middle and Far West. I have been in gatherings where the President declared himself opposed to a third term, and seen men rise up and shout emphatically: "No! No! You must run again; the people are with you." And to those same men I have heard the President say back just as emphatically: "No! no! I *will not* run again." And he means it.

Under no combination of circumstances will the President be a candidate in 1908. The night of his election to the Presidency in November, 1904, when his plurality of 2,500,000 was larger than the total vote of Lincoln in 1860 or 1864, and almost four times larger than the plurality of Grant over Greeley, Mr. Roosevelt told the country: "The wise custom which limits the President to two terms regards the substance and not the form. Under no circumstances will I be a candidate for or accept another nomination." This statement was made with no thought that a possible condition might arise which would justify an effort to retain the office. It is hardly necessary to speak of the President's honesty, but I know that statement means to-day exactly what it said when prepared. I know further that the President never has swerved a hair's breadth from the position it describes. After the negotiations at Portsmouth which terminated the war between Russia and Japan, the President received letters of congratulation from all parts of the country commending the result of his mediation and declaring that he must consider another term in the White House. At that time the President believed his popularity was at the crest of the wave, and he looked for the recession as soon as the Treaty of Portsmouth was forgotten. But the American people have shown that they do not forget. His popularity forced the passage of the railway rate measure at the last session of Congress, and brought other reforms, all of which were grudgingly granted by the legislators at the Senate end of the Capitol.

Much of President Roosevelt's popularity is founded in the conviction of the people that in whatever he does he is actuated by the cleanest and highest motives. Many accuse the President of impulsiveness, an accusation more or less true, but I do not know of a big thing he has done that was not given, before action, the most careful and thoughtful consideration. Take, for instance, his decision in 1904 not to be a candidate for a third term, or what he considers a third term. He had reached this decision months before the election. It might have been a good card for him to let his decision reach the people before the votes were cast. He played no such politics. On the record of the three years and a half of his administration he was retained in the highest office of the land by a magnificent plurality. The landslide would have been a temptation to the ordinary man to withhold the declaration. The President knew that he could make the claim that his first administration really did not constitute a "term of office" in the sense in which the phrase had been employed by Washington and McKinley in their declarations against third terms. But he did not propose to be placed, during the four years he was to serve as President, in the position of a demagogue who was calculating the effect of every act upon another candidacy. He resolutely put behind him, and has kept behind him, all temptation in connection with a third term, in spite of the general knowledge, which he shares—and the President is a practical politician—that if he were to let it be known that he would run again all other aspirants in the Republican party would abandon their purpose to seek the nomination. But, to reiterate, the President will not run again. He once said that in the performance of his duties he necessarily had made many influential enemies who fought every measure he advocated, whether they were affected or not, because he favored it; and he believed that another man should assume the Presi-

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dential office, a man with the same desire to make reforms and to advance the people's welfare, and with great strength of character, who would be able to achieve results because he had not yet made enemies.

With President Roosevelt out of the running, the Republicans of the country must make choice from the number of men who are willing and anxious to be their standard-bearer. "At this stage of the campaign of 1896," said a warm friend of the late President McKinley, "Hanna had so manipulated conditions in various States that it was McKinley and the field for the nomination. To-day, with Roosevelt determined not to be a candidate, it is the field." Nothing I have heard sums up the situation better. But the field is divided by a sharp line. Grouped on one side are the "Roosevelt Republicans," and on the other the "Conservative Republicans." The latter, of course, include all those who are opposed to the anti-trust and corporation regulation policies of the President. It is useless to suggest to them that the President really has done the Republican party a service; that he has purged it of evils which were bringing about its undoing, and that he has brought it back to Lincolnian principles. And it is equally useless, so far as concerns any effect upon the President and his friends, for them to suggest that Mr. Roosevelt by his "attacks upon wealth" has fostered socialistic discontent which will destroy the country. Undoubtedly there is a wide difference between the President's supporters, on the one hand, and (for want of a better term) the Aldrich faction, on the other. It will not lead either to bolt the nominee of the Republican Convention, whoever he may be, especially as the Democratic candidate is certain to stand for more radical governmental measures, but it promises to provoke one of the most bitter and sensational fights in the history of the party.

This presupposes that the President will participate in the conflict. It is difficult to imagine him keeping out of a struggle fraught with such important consequences to the country and the party. I am satisfied that he will not seek to dictate who the Convention shall name. But undoubtedly he will do as President what he would do if he were an ordinary citizen—make every effort to bring about the selection of a man who will serve the interests of the people, and not a particular class, and who will appeal to the voters. He has blazed a new way by the reforms he has inaugurated, and naturally he will want as his successor a man strong and qualified to pursue it despite opposition, able to finish off rough corners, and advance when the need shall develop. He will not support a man whose training and thought have been in a different direction, who believes in less regulation of corporate interests than he has advocated, who is willing to let the railways serve themselves rather than the people, who is opposed temperamentally to everything he has stood for, and thus will become his critic. The Panama Canal is one of the projects closest to Theodore Roosevelt's heart. He wants the next President to press it to completion as vigorously as he himself would do were he to continue in office.

There are a great many astute politicians in Washington who believe that Charles Warren Fairbanks, of Indiana, will be the Republican candidate for the Presidency. Ask what principles he stands for, and few will answer offhand. For years the White House has been his goal. It is his one passion, his mastering ambition, and it overshadows principles. He would accept any platform that may be framed.

The Vice-President is seeking to create a machine in every State in the Union. The trail of his agents extends from Florida to Wisconsin, from California to New Hampshire. If they find it impossible to secure his indorsement as the first choice of a State, they willingly put him aside for a favorite son, but insist that he shall be designated as the second choice.

Mr. Fairbanks does not rely solely upon agents by any means. He has missed few opportunities to meet the people. He has made more of a personal canvass than any other public man in the last six or eight years. Mr. Roosevelt engaged in a big speaking campaign during the

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campaign of 1900. McKinley the President could not descend to ask votes for McKinley the candidate. This was the task confided to the tail of the ticket. Nor could Mr. Roosevelt as President seek votes for election in 1904. Mr. Fairbanks made the speaking campaign of that year, and when he finished it was claimed that he had traveled a greater distance than even Mr. Bryan had in the famous campaign of '96.

The people like to get in touch with the men they place in office. It is unfortunate for the aspirations of Mr. Fairbanks that he lacks personal magnetism. He has the presence for the office he seeks. He is dignified, gracious, and engaging. He has many of the qualities of Mr. McKinley, but he cannot excite enthusiasm. He does not appeal to an audience any more than did President Harrison. His speeches fail to inspire those who hear them. But let the same men meet Fairbanks in his hotel, shake hands with him, and listen to his hearty voice and well-balanced compliments, and they will go away with a far more pleasant impression of him than they received from the platform.

Herein lies the value of the social functions the Fairbankses give. There is no other home in Washington that has been the scene of so many receptions and dinners. The latter usually are attended by men and women who can be of political service to the Vice-President, and few are deceived as to the purpose of an invitation. Mrs. Fairbanks makes a charming hostess. She was President of the Daughters of the American Revolution, and in that capacity, by tact and good judgment, kept out of controversies which among women cause everlasting enmities. She has a woman's machine, and cleverly manipulates it in the interest of her husband.

Mr. Fairbanks represents the conservative forces. He might be the choice of the Republican majority in the Senate if it could elect the President. He has made an admirable presiding officer. Certainly he has no active enemies in the Upper House. Mr. Fairbanks, it is generally believed, would be thoroughly acceptable to the big moneyed interests generally, and also to the politicians. Time will tell whether he will be acceptable to the people.

Secretary Taft, against his own will, has been drawn into the maelstrom of Presidential politics. His ambition always had been to sit on the Supreme Bench. He is a lawyer. His decisions on patent law rendered when a Federal judge on the Ohio circuit have become principles of that branch of jurisprudence. He said to the President and to all his friends that he would rather wear the robe of a Justice of the Supreme Court than serve the people in the White House. Had it not been for the persistent pleading of the President and strong personal friends, he would have accepted the position of Associate Justice rendered vacant by the retirement of Justice Brown. "I am not a politician," the Secretary frequently has stated. "I have gone ahead and done my duty irrespective of politics, and I have not sought to make myself popular. Besides, I have been behind the scenes, and the office of President holds no attraction for me."

But the Secretary finally allowed himself to be placed in the list of possibilities, and indeed so announced in a statement he made publicly to "his friends among the Washington correspondents." The trouble with the Secretary for a long time—to quote one of his friends—was that he would not permit them to do what they think proper to advance his candidacy. He had an almost morbid fear of being placed in the attitude of struggling for the Presidency. Now, however, he has consented to leave his candidacy in the hands of his friends. It may seem that, as Secretary of War, and as the direct representative of the President in many matters outside of the War Department, he would be tempted to promote his candidacy. I do not believe the Secretary is influenced in the slightest degree by Presidential aspirations; he simply does not think of them. He loyally supported the President in connection with the dismissal of three battalions of the Twenty-fifth Colored Infantry, though he was well aware that in so doing he was perhaps cutting himself off from a large part of the negro vote. He knew nothing of the President's purpose in this matter before the order

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was issued. When he returned to Washington from Cuba, and later from the West, where he had gone to inspect army posts, the President was at Panama. The Secretary was impressed by the appeals of friends of the negro, and daringly suspended the order of his chief. He communicated with the President, and then, by direction of the latter, revoked the suspension. The memory of the negro is short-lived, however, and he will forget that Mr. Taft placed himself in an awkward position for his sake, and recall only that the Secretary has ably backed up the President's policy. Senator Foraker, of Ohio, stands out as the defender of the negro, and, by the way in which he handled the Brownsville incident, has "placed handcuffs" on the negro vote in his State. The President believed throughout the Brownsville discussion that Senator Foraker, as the representative of corporate interests, was using the incident for the purpose of assailing the Administration; it may be said further that Senator Foraker is too astute a politician not to understand the effect of the dismissal of negro soldiers upon the colored mind, and he employed it as a two-edged sword to cut both the President and Secretary Taft.

Senator Foraker and Secretary Taft are as dissimilar as two great public men can be. Mr. Foraker is an orator; Mr. Taft is not. Mr. Foraker has been associated always with great corporate interests; Mr. Taft has been rather the representative of the people in legal controversies. Mr. Foraker is rich; Mr. Taft is poor. Mr. Foraker is a politician and has been playing the game practically all his life; Mr. Taft is as straightforward as a child in politics. Senator Foraker is a veteran of the Civil War and can appeal to the old soldier vote; Secretary Taft was too young to enter the army of the Great Rebellion. Mr. Taft is inclined to act, and does act, without reference to his political future; Senator Foraker rarely loses a point in this connection. Both are men of courage. Senator Foraker consistently opposed the railway rate regulation bill and voted against it, though he knew it to be an immensely popular measure. Secretary Taft's decisions as a Circuit Judge rendered government by injunction possible, and thus aroused the hostility of labor. Mr. Taft's speech in Ohio in 1905 disabled George Cox, the Republican boss of Cincinnati, prevented the election of a Republican Governor of the State, and brought him the open enmity of the Republican machine and Senator Dick, Foraker's colleague. Thus the two Senators and the Republican machine of Ohio are united in their determination to prevent Taft's indorsement as that State's Presidential candidate.

Indeed, Senator Foraker wants the indorsement himself. Fortunately for Secretary Taft's candidacy, the unit rule does not prevail in the Republican party. Senator Foraker will be able to secure in Ohio the four delegates at large, but he will be forced at least to divide the remainder of the delegation with his opponent. Although both men come from Cincinnati and it would seem that their fight should center in the southern part of the State, nevertheless it will be waged with the northern section as the battlefield.

Outside of Ohio Senator Foraker can look for nothing save perhaps in the Southern States, where the negro vote probably will be for him. Here he comes in conflict with Vice-President Fairbanks.

Mr. Taft's boom, which at first did not seem to take hold, is being vigorously nourished. President Roosevelt has made and is making opportunities for his Secretary of War. In the people's mind he is the right hand of his chief. He has executed Mr. Roosevelt's policies in the Philippines, Panama, and Cuba. He investigated the Bowen-Loomis controversy and other matters of political importance. He is recognized as the Administration's peacemaker. In the prosecution of the trusts and in railway regulation legislation he has been the adviser of the President equally with the Attorney-General. But in spite of his success in doing well everything intrusted to him, no lively enthusiasm has been manifested as yet for his candidacy. It may come with the activity of his friends. It would come if he were only active himself. But to-day he has no strength with poli-

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ticians, and his labor decisions and waiting attitude give them hope that he will have none with the people.

There is not the slightest doubt that if Mr. Taft were to be the candidate, or if it were to appear that he has a good chance to secure the nomination, Mr. Root would energetically and faithfully support him. On the other hand, it is not to be doubted that if Secretary Taft believed that Mr. Root could get the nomination, he would aid him with equal energy and unselfishness. The President recently said that he would crawl on his hands and knees from the White House to the Capitol to bring about the election of Mr. Taft to be his successor. He would do as much for Mr. Root. Publicly and privately he has expressed the highest opinion of the intellectual and administrative capacity of his Secretary of State.

The Secretary's notable trip to South America tended to dissipate the suspicion of American motives entertained in that part of the world. Since his return he has made several speeches which have attracted wide attention, and in Kansas, for example, he created a disposition to overlook his past corporate connections. He has advocated ship subsidy as well as tariff revision. To the dismay of the Republican machine, he has revived the States' rights question by a speech in New York in which he pointed out the trend of the country toward centralization of government. According to a subsequent declaration, he merely intended to warn the country of the way in which it was moving. New York listened to his Utica address, in which he served as the mouthpiece of the President, and showed its confidence in his charges by refusing to elect William Randolph Hearst as Governor, though it put the remainder of the Democratic ticket into office. Nevertheless, Mr. Root is not what the politicians call popular even in his own State.

It is believed by the President that if the Secretary would consent to permit his name to be used, he could enter the Convention with the indorsement of New York. But there are other forces at work in that State, among them the Odell faction, which the President brought to its knees in the late gubernatorial campaign. Governor Hughes's message to the New York Legislature was promising, and made him Presidential timber in the rough. Will his performance justify the promise? One candidate for the Presidency observed: "The people approve his words, but can he make good? They will consider him if he stops the Bridge rush, improves traction transportation, provides cheaper gas, and brings about other much-needed reforms in New York City."

George B. Cortelyou, the new Secretary of the Treasury, is another New Yorker who is a Presidential possibility. Mr. Cortelyou could have been nominated Governor of New York, but declined to permit his name to be considered. When all the facts are known, he believes that his work as Chairman of the Republican National Committee will receive approval. At present, if he were forced to speak, he would be compelled to make statements which might prove embarrassing to the Republican party; this is the sole reason he remains silent under criticism. Before the present wave of reform swept over the country it was considered an honor to hold the political "dough-bag." It is so no longer. The President's confidence in Mr. Cortelyou is shown by the fact that he has assigned him to more Cabinet positions than any other man in the Administration. As Postmaster-General, Cortelyou has extended rural free delivery and benefited the farmer. The latter knows to whom he is indebted. His recommendation brought better pay to employees of the postal service. He is a shrewd organizer, and his ability as a politician is not generally known.

Leslie M. Shaw, of Iowa, ex-Secretary of the Treasury, is the fourth member of the Cabinet willing to receive promotion from the people. Mr. Shaw has not the "ghost of a chance." He has made an excellent Secretary of the Treasury; but in spite of numerous speeches and even undignified scrambling, he has aroused no enthusiasm among politicians or the people. If he could get Iowa, he might have his name mentioned in the Convention. But he cannot control his native State. Governor Cummins considers Mr. Shaw one of his worst political foes. He

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will fight him to the death. Mr. Shaw may get a few delegates, but if he does he will find the majority advocating the nomination of Governor Cummins.

There remains but one other man worthy of present consideration, and he looms large—Joseph G. Cannon, of Illinois, Speaker of the House of Representatives.

Were the Speaker fifteen years younger, his nomination would be one of the decided probabilities. But if nominated and elected, Mr. Cannon would be seventy-three years of age when inaugurated, and seventy-seven when his term of office expired. To-day he is as spry as a cricket. His brain is as active, his carriage as steady, as they were at fifty. He is a man of the people, plain and unassuming. He has the faculty of making friends and keeping them. He is a good speaker, blunt, coarse frequently, and has an inexhaustible fund of witty stories. His metaphors are the product of a sledge-hammer, but they drive home the point he wishes to make, and they please the common people.

Mr. Cannon does not appeal to radicals, nor is organized labor pleased with his attitude. President Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, considered the advisability of attacking the Speaker in his Congressional district in Illinois, and thought better of it. Mr. Cannon has made no active, open canvass for indorsement for the Presidential nomination, but he will be named by Illinois and receive scattering support from all over the country. No doubt exists that, strongly as the Senate is for Mr. Fairbanks, the House is for Speaker Cannon. Two-thirds of the Republican Representatives would be glad to elevate him to the Presidency. They know of the movement started in 1904 to make him Roosevelt's running mate, and they appreciate his preference of the Speakership. They have ambled along the legislative way under his easy rein, though sometimes they have felt the spur of his decision. It is fair to presume that these men are the strongest politicians in their districts and can largely control the selection of district delegates. If "Uncle Joe" were to ask their support, which he has not yet done, and they agreed to give it, which, guided by interest in their own Congressional careers, they must do, he would be able to make a formidable showing in the Convention. In the late Congressional elections Mr. Cannon stumped contested districts vigorously, in part because he knew that without a Republican House he would cut a very small figure during the next two years and would not command the power to make or break men, which as Speaker he possesses. He has made enemies in the Senate because of his open attacks on that body, and because he has held up legislation in which Senators have been interested personally. These Senators for the most part are men of force in their respective States, and will be able, to some extent, to offset the work of the Congressmen.

What has been said will give an idea of the embarrassing situation of the Republican party. It has no lack of either principles or candidates. But exactly which principles to advocate and which candidate to select as its leader are problems that are taxing the brains of the wisest men in its fold.

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RUSSIAN DESPOTISM

BY GEORGE KENNAN

TWENTY years ago last November, Mr. Edward J. Phelps, who was then our Minister to Great Britain, delivered an address before the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh upon "The Law of the Land."

In the course of that address Mr. Phelps said:

> The theory upon which our system of government rests is that mankind possesses certain natural rights, usually described as those of life, liberty, and property, indispensable to human freedom and happiness; that these rights are not derived from, but are antecedent to, government, which is instituted for their maintenance as its first and principal object; that government can never be allowed, therefore, to infringe or disregard these rights, nor to fail to offer redress for their invasion; and that when it ceases to respect and uphold them, the obligation of allegiance terminates and the right of revolution begins.
>
> These constitutional principles are of perpetual duration and of perpetual authority; because the natural rights which they maintain are of perpetual obligation.
>
> No change of time or circumstance, no new discovery of political science, no modification of the forms of government, can affect their validity or restrict their control.

If Mr. Phelps had been a subject of Russia instead of a citizen of the United States, and if he had spoken these words before the Juridical Society of Moscow instead of before the Philosophical Institution of Edinburgh, what, in all probability, would have happened to him?

He would have been arrested in less than twenty-four hours; would have spent three or four months in solitary confinement in one of the bomb-proof casemates of the fortress of Petropavlovsk, and would then have been sent to Siberia as a political criminal of the most dangerous type—a criminal who actually had the impudence and the audacity to assert that there is such a thing as the right of revolution.

But, as a matter of fact, would Mr. Phelps have *been* a criminal simply because he had stated a universal truth in Moscow instead of Edinburgh?

By no means. Crime is not a matter of geography.

If the speaker was a thinker, a patriot, and a statesman in Edinburgh, he would have been no less a thinker, a patriot, and a statesman in Moscow; and the real criminal would have been the Minister of the Interior who sent him to Siberia merely for stating a truth which is universal in its application, and which is the corner-stone of human prosperity and happiness. Leaving aside, however, this aspect of the case, let us apply Mr. Phelps's principles to the present Government of Russia and see whether it has any right to exist.

The late American Minister says that when a government "ceases to respect and uphold the natural rights of life, liberty, and property, the obligation of allegiance terminates and the right of revolution begins."

Has the present Russian Government afforded any protection to these natural rights?

Take, first, the right of property. A few years ago a Russian publisher of St. Petersburg caused a translation to be made of a well-known American book entitled "Dynamic Sociology," by Professor Lester F. Ward, of Washington. The manuscript was approved by the censor, who found nothing objectionable in it, and an edition of five thousand copies was printed and bound.

Just as the publisher, however, was preparing to put the book on the market, the Council of Ministers ordered the whole edition to be seized and burned, and the order was immediately carried into effect. Of course the publisher lost all the money that he had put into it, and was deprived of this property, not by due process of law, but by a mere executive order of confiscation.

Imagine what we should think and say in America if Secretary Hitchcock should send a force of Federal police to the publishing house of D. Appleton &

[1] An address delivered by Mr. Kennan before the meeting in behalf of Russian freedom held in Carnegie Hall, New York, on March 4; stenographically reported for The Outlook and revised by the author. —THE EDITORS.

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Co., in New York, and, without any process of law, seize and burn a whole edition of Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics." And yet this, or something like this, happens in Russia every week, and sometimes three or four times a week.

Between the 30th of October, 1905, and the 1st of June, 1906, the Russian police seized, confiscated, and destroyed, without process of law, no less than ninety-seven editions of books, pamphlets, and magazines, comprising more than five hundred thousand copies.

That which happens to the publishers of books happens in a still worse form to the publishers of periodicals.

I could name a score of Russian newspapers whose doors have recently been closed by the police and whose capital of from $20,000 to $100,000 has been absolutely wiped out without process of law by an order from the Minister of the Interior.

From these few examples it must be sufficiently clear, I think, that the present Russian Government not only gives no protection to property, but absolutely confiscates or destroys it when it is used in opposition to bureaucratic supremacy.

Mr. Phelps's second natural right is that of liberty, and this right the Russian Government has violated more flagrantly and cruelly, perhaps, than any other.

Under the so-called laws of reinforced and extraordinary defense it has arrested without warrant, and imprisoned or exiled without trial, not less than thirty thousand persons in the last twelve months. On the day when the first Duma assembled in St. Petersburg there were already eighteen thousand political offenders in prison, and four thousand more had passed through Moscow on their way to places of exile in Archangel, Vologda, and Siberia. Since that time the number of both prisoners and exiles has largely increased, so that now it certainly amounts to thirty thousand and may reach fifty thousand.

Probably two-thirds of these persons have been arrested without legal warrant and have been imprisoned or sent into exile without judicial trial.

The so-called law of reinforced defense, which authorizes such treatment of Russian subjects, and which is in force throughout five-sixths of the Empire, empowers Governors and Governors-General (1) to prohibit public, social, or private meetings; (2) to close commercial and industrial establishments; (3) to suppress newspapers and magazines; (4) to make searches and seizures in public or private buildings; (5) to arrest and imprison citizens without accusation or warrant; (6) to send civil or political cases to military courts and try them there behind closed doors; (7) to banish political suspects to the remotest parts of the Empire; and (8) to issue imperative orders which shall have all the force of law and which shall cover cases not foreseen and specially provided for.

It would be hard to name any act of injustice which a bureaucratic official may not commit with impunity under the sweeping provisions of this Imperial ukase.

It is officially called "the law of reinforced defense;" but it ought to be entitled "a ukase authorizing officials to reinforce and defend themselves by violating the civil and criminal codes." In the face of the fact that thirty thousand Russian citizens have recently been imprisoned or exiled, two-thirds of them without trial, it is impossible to contend that the Russian Government throws any safeguards around liberty. In its dealings with property and persons it is as unscrupulous and ruthless as a highwayman or a brigand.

The third natural right referred to by Mr. Phelps is the right to life. Does the Russian Government pay any more respect to this than to property and liberty? The answer must again be in the negative. Finding it impossible to stop the rising tide of revolution by means of imprisonment and exile, the Government in 1906 resorted, for the first time, to terrorism in the shape of wholesale killing.

According to the Russian historical review, Builloe, the number of political offenders put to death in the first six months of last year was 970. Four-fifths of them were executed upon sentences of field courts martial, while the remainder were shot or hanged by executive order.

In the cases of those who were tried

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by courts martial there was the form of regular judicial procedure, but it was nothing more than a form. The trial was held with closed doors; the law required that sentence should be pronounced inside of twenty-four hours and executed inside of forty-eight; the prisoner had no counsel, he had no time to summon his witnesses, and it was practically impossible for him to make any adequate defense.

Such a trial, judged by our standards of judicial procedure, is not due process of law—it is murder under cover of an Imperial ukase, and is no more legal than the assassinations of the terrorists.

This wholesale homicide is increasing rather than diminishing. In the first two weeks of last January 81 politicals were put to death, 63 of them by sentences of field courts martial.

If this rate of 81 executions in fourteen days be carried through the rest of the present year, 2,106 politicals will be shot or hanged before the first of next January.

In the same two weeks covered by this death record the number of politicals sentenced by military courts to imprisonment, exile, or penal servitude was 328.

This rate, if continued throughout the year, will bring the total number of political convicts up to 10,634.

These figures, of course, do not include the thousands of politicals imprisoned or exiled by administrative process, without any form of law whatever.

As a further illustration of Russian methods, take the history of the members of Russia's first representative assembly. Of the delegates to the first Duma, one—my personal friend Professor Herzenstein—has been murdered by Black Hundred assassins; one has gone insane; two have been cruelly beaten by the police; five have been exiled; ten are in hiding; thirty-three have been arrested and searched; twenty-four are in prison; and one hundred and eighty-two are under indictment on the charge of treason.

When it suits their purposes to do so, the Russian officials violate the laws without the slightest hesitation and apparently without the least shame.

Early in April last, while elections to the first Duma were in progress, Mr. Durnovo, who was then Minister of the Interior, sent to the Governors of all the provinces of European Russia the following telegram:

"Under the provisions of the law of reinforced defense, you are hereby instructed to arrest all students, Jews, and vagabond orators who make their appearance in the peasant villages, and keep them in prison, without regard to the judicial authorities."

A little later, in May, Representative Alikin, in behalf of the whole Kazan delegation in the Duma, went personally to Mr. Strizhevski, the Governor of Kazan, and asked him to release from the prisons of that province all politicals against whom no charges of any kind had been brought.

When the Governor refused to grant this reasonable request, Mr. Alikin ventured to say that the long imprisonment of persons not accused of any offense was having a very bad effect upon public opinion.

To this the Governor coolly and cynically replied, "We are not obliged to reckon with public opinion."

It would be easy to multiply proofs that the Russian bureaucracy does not respect nor uphold the natural rights of property, liberty, and life; but I have perhaps given facts enough to show that, in accordance with the principles laid down by Mr. Phelps in his Edinburgh address, the Russian Government has no right to exist, and it is the duty of the Russian people to overthrow it.

In his oration on "Harper's Ferry," delivered in Brooklyn on the first of November, 1859, Wendell Phillips said:

"Lawless, brutal force is no basis for a government, in the true sense of that word. No civil society, no government, can exist except on the basis of the willing submission of all its citizens, and by the performance of the duty of rendering equal justice between man and man. Whatever calls itself a government and refuses that duty, or lacks that assent, is not a government—it is only a pirate ship."

We all know what happens to pirate ships. They are chased off the face of the earth by the civilized powers; and

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such ought to be the fate of the Russian bureaucracy.

In the present state of international relations, and under the existing code of international law, it is impossible, perhaps, for one government to interfere with the domestic affairs of another; but it is not impossible for us, as free citizens, to extend a hand of sympathy and help, and to shout God-speed to those suffering millions who are struggling for freedom on the other side of the Atlantic.

With what sympathy and admiration they look to the United States of America as the realization and embodiment of all that they hope for in Russia may be shown by a pathetic incident in the history of the Russian revolutionary movement.

In the summer of 1876—the American Centennial summer—when there were confined in the great prison known as the House of Preliminary Detention in St. Petersburg more than three hundred political offenders—all of them in separate cells, but secretly in communication with one another by means of the "knock alphabet"—it was decided by them to have a general prison celebration of the American Centennial, Fourth of July.

As early as the first week in June the prisoners began to make preparations for the proposed celebration by requesting relatives, who were permitted to visit some of them once or twice a week, to bring or send to the prison, for their use, as many red and blue handkerchiefs, neckerchiefs, shirts, and pairs of red flannel drawers as could be brought or sent without exciting suspicion, and at the same time all of the prisoners who were permitted to have movable lights in their cells began to purchase and hoard cheap tallow candles. The colored garments were torn into strips; the candles were cut into inch-long bits; and both were distributed throughout the prison, either by attaching them to strings obtained by raveling out their stockings and swinging them, like pendulums, from one cell window to another, or by lowering them or pulling them up through the iron soil-pipes which connected the water-closet fixtures of the cells with the sewerage system of the city. The prisoners had long before discovered that by scooping the water out of the closet traps they could open the pipes so as to make them speaking-tubes from cell to cell, and could even use them as a means of transferring little packages from one cell to another by tying such packages to long strings, throwing them into the pipes, and then pulling the strings up and down until they became entangled or twisted together. Out of the strips of colored cloth, obtained in this way, some of the women—who were permitted to have needles and thread and to do sewing in their cells—succeeded in making secretly small, rude American flags; and before the 1st of July almost every political offender in the prison had either a small American flag or a few red, white, and blue strips of cloth.

Day breaks, in the high northern latitude of St. Petersburg, in summer, very early; and on the morning of the 4th of July, 1876, hours before the first daylight cannon announced the beginning of the great national celebration in Philadelphia, hundreds of small, rude American flags or strips of red, white, and blue cloth fluttered from the grated windows of the politicals around the whole quadrangle of the great St. Petersburg prison, while the prisoners were faintly hurrahing, singing patriotic songs, or exchanging greetings with one another through the iron pipes which united their cells. The celebration, of course, was soon over. The prison guard, although they had never heard of the Declaration of Independence and did not understand the significance of this extraordinary demonstration, promptly seized and removed the flags and tricolored streamers. Some of the prisoners, however, had more material of the same kind in reserve, and at intervals throughout the whole day scraps and tatters of red, white, and blue were furtively hung out here and there from cell windows or tied around the bars of the gratings. Late in the evening, at a preconcerted hour, the politicals lighted their bits of tallow candles and placed them in their windows, and the celebration ended with a faint but perceptible illumination of the great prison quadrangle.

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There seems to me to be something infinitely mournful and touching in this attempt of three hundred political offenders to celebrate together, in the loneliness and gloom of a Russian prison, the centennial birthday of a free people. Compared with the banners, the fireworks, the martial music, and all the glowing pageantry of triumphant liberty in Philadelphia, the rudely fashioned stars and stripes hung out from grated cell windows, the faint hurrahing and singing of patriotic songs through prison pipes, and the few bits of tallow candle, illuminating faintly at night the dark, silent quadrangle of the prison in St. Petersburg, may seem pitifully weak, ineffective, and insignificant; but judged by a spiritual standard, the celebration of the centennial Fourth of July in the House of Preliminary Detention, in the Russian capital, is an event almost as extraordinary—and to the heart and imagination of a freeman almost as impressive—as the great National celebration in Philadelphia. Human actions are not to be judged solely by the scenic effect that they produce, but are also to be regarded as manifestations of human emotion and purpose. When Mary anointed the feet of her Lord and Master as an expression of her devotion and love, it was a simple thing, almost a trivial thing; but Christ said, "She hath done what she could." When the Russian revolutionists hung out rude imitations of the star-spangled banner from their cell windows, and lighted, at night, their hoarded bits of tallow candle, as an expression of their devotion to liberty, it, too, was a simple thing, almost a trivial thing—but they did what they could. Some of them were weak from sickness and long solitary confinement; some of them had just come from the voiceless, bomb-proof casemates of the Petropavlovski fortress, where they had almost lost count of days and months; some of them were living in anticipation of the unknown hardships and privations of Siberia; and upon some of them was resting, already, the dark shadow of the scaffold; but in all their solitude, their loneliness, and their misery, they did not forget the American centennial Fourth of July. What little they *could* do to show their devotion to the cause of freedom, and their sympathy with a freedom-loving people on the centennial anniversary of that people's emancipation, that little they bravely did; and the spirit by which they were animated transfigured their pitiful celebration, with its tricolored rags and its paltry bits of candle, and made it infinitely more significant, in the world's history, than all the pomp and ceremony that attend the coronation of a Czar.

It seems to me that such people as these are deserving of our sympathy, pity, and help; and if I thought that sympathy, pity, and help would not be given to them, I should feel disposed to renounce my American citizenship and go to live in a country which is oppressed, down-trodden, famine-stricken, and wretched, but which contains men and women who have ideals and aspirations for which they are ready to die.

CHINA'S GREAT FAMINE

BY WILLIAM T. ELLIS

"WOLF! wolf!" has been cried so often concerning the failure of China's crops, and consequent famine, that when the gaunt wolf of starvation actually does appear at the door of three million people the world may be pardoned for appearing rather skeptical. This time, however, the alarm is real, as may be known by many signs—that shipload of cheap, flimsy coffins which I passed yesterday on the Grand Canal, for one, and the grimly bustling activity in every coffin-shop in Central China. Even so there are not coffins enough to go around, despite the existence of many benevolent societies expressly to furnish them, and despite the depth of the Chinese sentiment upon the importance of proper coffins, graves, funerals, and mourning. The children are being buried in a small square of matting, without any ceremony what-

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ever; and the mother's only sign of mourning is a single white rag, the size of a lady's handkerchief, thrown over her head, or even a few strings of dried flax, so desperate is the poverty.

Possibly I am commencing my story wrong end foremost. The beginning of the famine should come before its result. That beginning was water—heavy rainfall during spring and summer, swollen streams and canals, overflowing banks, and submerged fields. Since the ancient canals are higher than the surrounding country, the farms remain submerged, many of them, to this day. The crops of this part of China are chiefly wheat, maize, buckwheat, beans, and peanuts; it is not a rice-growing or rice-eating section. The spring sowing was lost almost utterly over an area of over forty thousand square miles lying north of the Yangtze River, and mainly in the provinces of Kiangsu and Anhuei. The fall sowing of wheat is less than half the average, so it will be an entire year before full crops may be expected, although the famine will probably be broken in June and July.

So close do the Chinese live to their daily bread, in a poverty that is incredible to any Westerner who has not witnessed it, that the failure of the summer crops meant only one thing—famine for three or four million peasants. The entire ten million population of the flooded area is affected, to a greater or lesser degree. All prosperity in China, as elsewhere, rises and falls with that of the farmer. Soon the pinch of extraordinary poverty began to be felt all over the North River Country. Farms were mortgaged, live stock sold, personal possessions pawned, domestic pets eaten, the daily ration reduced, and stores of dried sweet potato leaves, ground willow bark, and roots and various weeds laid in.

Those whose mud houses had fallen down in the flood, and thousands of other families besides, piled their worldly goods and the babies on the family wheelbarrow and started toward the unflooded region south of the Yangtze River. Here they encamped outside the walls of several cities, where their very numbers, as a possible menace, inspired the officials to take some steps for their preservation. Many and various have been the temporary camps constructed by large bodies of people in various parts of the world at different times, congregated for one reason or another; but it is doubtful if any ever resembled these aggregations of hungry Chinese. The common coarse rush matting, about four feet by five in size, to be purchased for a few cash, was used for the construction of dwellings, sometimes only one piece sufficing, when the shelter would be only the size of a dog-house, and again three or four pieces being used, giving the hut the shape and almost the size of the top of a covered farm wagon. These shelters served to keep off a measure of wind and rain. Alongside of them, however, the meanest quarters in a great city's slums are paradise.

In this fashion were huddled together at the beginning of January hordes of refugees aggregating at least half a million persons—three hundred thousand at Tsinkiangpu, eighty thousand at Nanking, another eighty thousand at Yangchow, and thirty thousand at Chinkiang, to cite the principal centers. The Chinese official figures put the total number of these refugees at a million and a quarter. Compare these hosts with the "Coxey's Army" which fifteen years ago excited such an interest throughout America, remembering always that by far the greater number of famine victims remained in their homes.

Of the miseries of this multitude of men, women, and children, encamped on the bare ground in the middle of winter, and subsisting on a ration ranging from a bowl of rice to nothing at all, little needs to be said. All "ate bitterness," as the quaint Chinese phrase for mental suffering has it; many ate nothing else, and the deaths from actual starvation, and from disease superinduced by insufficient nutrition, mounted up into the thousands. The marvel is not that so many died, but that so few died. The low mortality rate—considering the circumstances—is due to the unrivaled endurance of the Chinese. Poverty is normal with them. Given food enough to enable them to "cross the day," as their expressive saying puts it, and they will undergo without complaint a degree

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of poverty that would incite "bread riots" anywhere in Christendom.

There again you have a Chinese characteristic; the Chinese are, with reason, said to be the quietest, most law-abiding and peaceful race of people on earth, despite the turbulences faithfully reported over seas. Imagine the city of Baltimore, its every man, woman, and child actually suffering from hunger, encamped on the outskirts of Richmond, and the latter city enabled to pursue its wonted way in peace, with all its grain warehouses and provision stores open to the street. That would be analogous to the situation at Tsinkiangpu, a city of considerably less than two hundred thousand inhabitants, which for a month has had three hundred thousand famine refugees miserably squatting beneath its walls. Tantalizingly, the heaps of grain and rice in front of the shops have increased in size rather than diminished, even as the price has increased two and three hundred fold. In the very refugee camps themselves, under the eyes of ravenous, starving people, grain merchants have safely displayed their wares, confident in the knowledge of the national orderliness and in the presence of several companies of China's new soldiery.

A supreme test of Chinese submission to authority, in the actual presence of that grim necessity which supposedly knows no law, was afforded by the breaking up of the immense refugee camps at Tsinkiangpu, towards the close of January. The officials saw several dangers threatening from the proximity of this multitude, destitute to desperation. The possibility of revolution haunted them as a specter. More certain was the danger of plague. The concreteness of the camps as a spectacle of woe would give the enemies of the Government a powerful argument. Moreover, so long as these tens of thousands remained, they could command a measure of help; dispersed, they could be safely ignored. Removed the camps must be.

Almost over night the deed was done. Payment for ten days' rations, at the rate of one cent and a half a day per person, was made in a lump, and assurance was given that the next payment would take place only at the homes where the people are registered. There also the relief from the foreigners would be distributed; this last being a powerful consideration, for the Chinese have no confidence in the pledges of their own authorities to aid them, although the Government appears to be making sincere efforts in that direction. When promises failed to budge the refugees, their huts were burned or torn down over their heads.

The exodus from the camps back to the North Country was an anabasis for a Xenophon's pen. It was sunset when I first saw a long line of wheelbarrows, on the crest of the old bank of the Yellow River, silhouetted against the western sky. The dumb patience of a Millet painting was in the scene. The crude vehicles each held all of a family's earthly store, and two or three members of the family itself. Such pitifully poor possessions—a bowl-shaped iron cooking vessel, a few cheap rice-bowls, possibly a larger earthenware dish, a basket, a bundle of rushes for fuel, the mats that had lately served as a house, a ragged coverlet, maybe an extra pair of shoes too badly worn to pawn, and, in one case at least, a cheap straw hat. Sometimes the father would be pushing and the children pulling, with the smaller ones on top of the household goods, and a wee babe hidden inside the mother's coat, next to her breast, for warmth. Often the relationships were curiously assorted; the most typical specimen of starvation plus sickness that I saw was stretched out on a barrow, with a nephew trundling him. Again it was a big boy pushing the load and a grandmother with the babies. Sometimes it was a son pushing a mother.

Occasionally there would be no man at all in the group; some husbands and fathers have deserted their responsibilities. Others have thrown away the weak members of their households. I myself found a twenty-year-old boy, broken-backed and with only pitiful, useless little stumps for arms and legs, who had been lying for three days in a ditch, where his parents had cast him. Children, especially girls, are being sold for all sorts of purposes, mostly bad; one father sold his daughter for fourteen cents and two bowls of rice. Sixty cents is

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said to be a fair price for a girl just now, although I met a case to-day where a father was paid twenty dollars for his daughter and then robbed of all except one dollar by the go-between. The soulless traffickers in flesh and blood are reported already to have gone from Shanghai into the famine district. On the other hand, the patient, ox-like fidelity of these stolid men, trudging steadily on beneath the weight of wheelbarrow straps, is really noble; there is romance in the patent fact that so many babies on the barrows are ruddy and healthy, while their parents wear the hollow, glassy eyes and dusty pallor of the starving.

While it is impossible not to treat of this whole calamity in bulk, yet an investigator is ever running across reminders that for each of the suffering millions the distress is as individual and personal and detached as the misfortunes of the hero of the latest novel. At Nanking the front wall of one of the yamens, several hundred feet long, is covered with the names of persons entitled to an allowance of rice from that one yamen; these refugees are not a mere mass of misery; each has a proper name and all the hopes and fears and loves and sorrows that enter into a human personality.

Small wonder, then, that they cling so obstinately to life, even when life seems so little worth living. The barrenness of the lot of the peasant Chinese almost leads one to wonder whether so bare an existence is worth saving. Yet amazingly few take the way out of their troubles adopted by one man of whom I have heard, who spent his few last cash in the purchase of arsenic which he mixed with the family's one remaining meal of rice. The next day the household of eight was found dead. Braver is the attitude of these ragged peasants (and no one is entitled to use the adjective "ragged" until he has seen China's poor), who grimly, uncomplainingly turn their faces homeward, there to await, if strength serves them to travel so far, the starvation which seems inevitable. In the actual famine district itself, among the villages of mud houses, I found the people simply expecting and waiting death with a calm hopelessness that is horrible.

Let the world do its best, and thousands still must perish. Splendid efforts are under way to reach the sufferers with bread. An energetic, efficient, and representative Relief Committee, comprising consuls, high government officials, Chinese and foreign, and leading merchants, missionaries, and professional men, has from Shanghai undertaken to arouse the world. By the middle of January thirty-five thousand bags of American flour, containing fifty pounds apiece, had been started into the famine district, to be sold at a low price. The Government has engaged to supply every sufferer with thirty cash (one and a half cents) a day, and is assuredly making great efforts to carry out this pledge, for the present at least. The actual distributers of the relief contributed through the Shanghai committee are the missionaries, who have been invested with full authority and responsibility, so that there may be no "squeezing" by the Chinese. The greater part of the affected area is occupied almost wholly by the Southern Presbyterian Church, with a few Roman Catholic missions and some stations of the China Inland Mission. This last, however, has declined to engage in relief work except for its own converts and adherents. The Southern Presbyterians have called to their aid a number of other representative missions, and are distributing aid without respect to any lines except those of want.

They are in for a long, hard pull. Famine conditions will prevail until late in June or early in July, when so much of a wheat crop as has been planted will be harvested. Various forms of relief work, as the cutting of canals to prevent a recurrence of this disaster, have been projected. Still, there will be need of all the relief that benevolence will furnish. Principle as well as interest is required in this big work of breaking the famine. The unsatisfactory part about feeding the hungry is that one's glow of self-complacency over a good deed has scarcely faded before the recipient is hungry again and asking for alms.

The first feeling of public pity over the terrible lot of these millions of suffering

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Chinese will have passed away ere the need of succor is ended. Even at the low relief rate of one and a half cents a day, vast sums will be needed to tide the famine victims over the period of absolute destitution. If the money is forthcoming, it will be an unrivaled tribute to the humanitarianism of twentieth-century civilization.

Central China, January 22, 1907.

THE SELF-REVELATIONS OF AN AGNOSTIC[1]

THE interest in Mr. Maitland's biography of Mr. Leslie Stephen is its autobiographical character. It is essentially a self-portraiture. For American readers the book would have been better had the author, or editor—for he is more editor than author—given a little more historical background. Historically the letters need some interpretation. But if this be a defect, it is one which is due to an excess of virtue. In the Preface Mr. Maitland gives the key to his own self-repression: "In two or three words I will explain why I turn my hand to a work of a kind to which it is not accustomed, and then I will say no more of myself." When he does turn his hand to something more than mere incidental explanation, the result needs no apology. His portrait of Leslie Stephen in Chapter XX. is an admirable piece of miniature painting.

Leslie Stephen was born in 1832; in 1855 he was ordained a deacon in the Established Church; in 1859 he was ordained a priest; in 1862, to use his own phrase, he discovered, not that his creed was false, but that he had never really believed it. He could not, therefore, under the existing statutes, remain a tutor in Cambridge University, and so resigned his tutorship; ever after he was not merely a "come-outer," but a positive and somewhat aggressive opponent of the Christian Church. His philosophical position was that of agnosticism; his religious position that of an ethical culturist, and occasionally he spoke before a London Society of Ethical Culture. But his life was devoted to literature. After leaving Cambridge he lived in and about London, earning his living by his pen as a journalist, editor, author, and literary critic. During the later years of his life at St. Ives in Cornwall he was still in professional connection with London. His greatest work was his editing of the "Dictionary of National Biography." His most important distinct contribution to literature was, in our opinion, his "History of the English Utilitarians." Perhaps he is best known by his "Hours in a Library." He was twice married, both times very happily. He died February 22, 1904. The only adventures in his quiet life were those incident to his Alpine climbing, which was his favorite recreation.

The interest of such a story lies not in its incident. It might lie in the author's portraiture of other men, as does the life of the Duke of Argyll. In fact, however, Leslie Stephen lived largely the life of a recluse. He was a very companionable man, but only with a few companions. He was not a writer of gossip, not even in his letters to his most intimate friends. The interest of his life lies in the self-revelation afforded by his letters of a character possessed of great strength and some great weaknesses, who was honored by the degree of Doctor of Letters in 1892 by the University whose statutes did not allow him to remain in its teaching force as a tutor in 1862 because of his theological opinions. He was candid to a fault, modest to self-depreciation, as conscientious as a Puritan and as narrow, as aggressive in his disbeliefs as the most orthodox of his contemporories in his beliefs, an inveterate worker but without enthusiasm, a lover of his fellow-men and yet superficially a cynic,[1] with a heart as tender

[1] *The Life and Letters of Leslie Stephen.* By Frederic William Maitland. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

[1] He writes to Charles Eliot Norton in 1873, "Remember that my cynicism does not get down into my heart."

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as a woman's hidden under what was sometimes a very rough exterior. What he believed he believed with all his heart, what he disbelieved he disbelieved with all his heart, and his disbeliefs were as sacred to him as other men's creeds are to them. From his work you would say that everything was important; from his letters, that nothing was so.

His creed was of the shortest: "I now believe in nothing, to put it shortly; but I do not the less believe in morality, &c., &c. I mean to live and die like a gentleman if possible." This Confucian creed (written in 1865) served him for the rest of his life. He seemed incapable of understanding that any intelligent man could have a longer creed. Discovering, as he thought, that he had never believed, he jumped to the conclusion that no one else believed; and, looking back with a sort of abhorrence on what he regarded as the sham beliefs of his own early life, he looked with equal abhorrence on what he regarded as the sham beliefs of all Christian believers. He can see nothing to respect in the intuitionalist. In 1876 he writes to Norton, "I despise most of your religious people," and affirms that "we are all agnostics, though some people choose to call their ignorance God or mystery." He dislikes George Herbert "because he seems to me always to be skulking behind the Thirty-Nine Articles instead of looking facts in the face;" Balfour's "Foundations of Belief" are "about the very oddest foundations that any man ever tried to lay—being chiefly reasons for believing nothing;" S. T. Coleridge's letters he characterizes as "amazing wrigglings and self-reproaches and astonishing pouring forth of unctuous twaddling;" Maurice he believes to be "as honest a man as ever lived," but "of all the muddle-headed, intricate, futile persons I ever studied, he was about the most utterly bewildering;" "the Psalmist takes his sorrow like a man . . . while the Apostle [Paul] is desperately trying to shirk the inevitable, and at best resembles the weak comforters who try to cover up the terrible reality under a veil of well-meant fiction." All this shows a curious inability to comprehend the position of the intuitionalist, or idealist, or mystic, who, differing in other respects, agree in this, that our knowledge of the invisible world is not a mere matter of rational deduction from observed phenomena, but that world is immediately and directly perceived by the spiritual sense, and that on this perception of the invisible all the most important acts of our life are based. Whether this be true or not is beside the question; no man is equipped to argue with the believer who does not comprehend this fundamental basis of his belief and undertake to show that it is untenable. Leslie Stephen's letters afford no indication that he even knew that it was held.

If these letters illustrate, as we think they do, both the character and the cause of the illiberality of some liberals and the narrowness of some broad men, they equally illustrate the truth that a man who believes in nothing can yet have a splendidly courageous and self-sacrificing faith in morality and can live not only like a gentleman but like a hero. Though he does not wait upon the Lord and cannot mount up on wings like eagles, he can run and not be weary and he can walk and not faint. He can be asking all his life long, as apparently Leslie Stephen did, "What is the good of life on the whole?" and confess to himself that he "can't quite make it out," and yet live a thoroughly good life—be honest, just, industrious, conscientious, kindly, generous; but apparently he cannot be hopeful or enthusiastic. Certainly Leslie Stephen was all that these words connote and more, but we fail to find in these letters any sign of enthusiasm or any radiance of hope. About the most hopeful word we find is such as this: A journalist, "if he is an honest man (for all hypotheses are lawful) and speaks the truth with some vigor, may help things on a bit." But his general feeling respecting his work is not that it matters, but that it must be done: "You *might* know me better by this time, Milly! Don't you know that I'm like a hoop? When I'm not going at full speed, I drop." His most attractive work is not an inspiration; his least attractive, the Dictionary, is confessedly a torment. And when great grief overtakes him, he has no refuge; he is too

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honest to look for one in a faith which he has cast off, or even to use a phrase which might imply a remnant of that faith, and yet stumbles into what comes near to recognition of a Divine Goodness in One to whom he owes the great inspiration and joy of his life. Thus in a letter written after the death of his wife to James Russell Lowell: "I thank—something—that I loved her as heartily as I know how to love, that I would have died for her with pleasure, and that (still more) I scarcely ever saw a cloud upon her bright face."

We rise from reading this fascinating volume with a twofold conviction strengthened by its perusal: on the one hand, that an agnostic may live a life so true and so self-sacrificing as to deserve and to win the respect and the love of all who know him; and, on the other hand, that his life will inevitably lack that enthusiasm of hope which cheers and inspires him that believes himself to be working under a Leader who sees the end from the beginning, under whose leadership no good work will fail to count in the final beneficent result.

WISE AND OTHERWISE

A CLEVER lady who had passed the limit of fourscore years turned from a book of reminiscences which she was reading and said, with a merry twinkle in her eye, "These old people are so garrulous!" She recognized and deplored the temptation that besets all writers of many experiences. There is a vast difference between being prolix and being discursive. In his record of a journey around the world Mr. Conway escapes being actually tedious, but is decidedly discursive, including, according to the dictionary, the elements of argumentativeness and "moving about." What value his book has lies in his ability to tell a story, certainly not in his estimate of conditions. More than the traditional grain of salt must be included by the wise reader as he amuses himself with Mr. Conway's opinions of either Oriental mysticism or Occidental theology. The wise men do not belong altogether to the East, and tilting at windmills or demolishing home-made men of straw will continue to occupy men to the end of the world.

Passing rapidly over his experiences in Australia and the islands of the sea, we come to Ceylon and a most interesting priest, Subhûti by name, who spoke English and was known as the author of a Pali grammar. When asked why he was borne by men in a sedan chair, instead of in a carriage drawn by horses, he said that life was so sacred that he was afraid a horse might be vitally injured by carrying him. "But," said Mr. Conway, "might it not be the same with one of those men while he is carrying you?" After a moment's silence he said, very sweetly, "But a man can tell me if he is suffering." Truly this was a gentle and a wise man, this Buddhist priest. Bishop Heber's hymn declaring that man "is vile" in Ceylon was particularly irritating to Mr. Conway. He returns to worry it again and again, much as a dog bites and shakes a harmless old shoe, even retailing an absurd story told him by a Moslem (whom he seemed to credit) as to Bishop Heber's animus in writing the line. By this time the reader who has any knowledge of Eastern men or lands from personal experience is vastly diverted.

Mr. Conway is ruthless in exposing what he calls "tricks" of all sorts, miraculous or legendary; yet his credulous acceptance of the ordinary conversational inaccuracies current in the East is truly astonishing. He is the sort of traveler who fills the "griff" with unholy glee, because he is immensely flattered if a native addresses him as "Preserver of the Poor."

On Christmas Day Mr. Conway lectured in Colombo upon Christ and Buddha, pointing out the different aims of their respective birth-myths—"one, happiness in another world; the other, happiness in this world."

Beside him sat the Primate of the

[1] *My Pilgrimage to the Wise Men of the East.* By Moncure D. Conway. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $3, net.

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Buddhist world, with whom he had a conversation upon Theosophists. The priest was troubled by the expositions of Buddhism given by the Theosophists. He declared the pretended Mahatmas to be non-existent, and quite without the circle of Buddhistic philosophy.

Mr. Conway's visit to Madame Blavatsky at her home in Adyar is described with great humor. He had known the lady in London. Her portrait is sufficient explanation of the fact that Mrs. Conway "was not attracted by her," though Mr. Conway found her entertaining because of her gossipy knowledge of contemporary persons and events. He felt it a duty, as he was a public teacher, to investigate Theosophy in India. He declares that his own idea was that "Madame Blavatsky had simply invented a new set of archangels and saints to supply that reverential fog amid which all impostures are possible." At the entrance of Madame Blavatsky's park stood a dilapidated blue pasteboard elephant which had been set up by a Madras believer. Upon being ushered into the house, "a lay chela" declined sweetly to shake hands with the visitor for fear his magnetism might be impaired, as he possessed the power of appearing at a distance in his "astral" body. "Colonel" Olcott was absent, but the "Countess" Blavatsky was graciously hospitable, and the visitor remained to dinner. He was eager to see some of the marvels of which he had heard, but was put off with stories of what had occurred or what would occur in the future. "I said that was just my luck in such matters; wherever a miracle occurs I was always too soon or too late to see it. My experience was that of Alice in the Looking-Glass—'Jam yesterday, jam tomorrow, but never jam to-day.'"

In a private audience Madame Blavatsky inquired the particular desire of her visitor. Mr. Conway said he wished to find out something about the strange performances attributed to the lady. What did it all mean? She said, with a serene smile, "I will tell you, because you are a public teacher, and you ought to know the truth: it is all glamour—people think they see what they do not see—that is the whole of it." So, Mr. Conway continues, the clever woman spiked his guns.

She gossiped wittily about many things, but uttered no word of "Occultism" or any other "ism." At dinner there were several guests, among them a silent, unsmiling woman to whom Mr. Conway was not introduced. After dining he was ushered into the sacred room, and Madame Blavatsky looked on with an amused smile while two young Hindu neophytes prostrated themselves before the "shrine" or cabinet, within which were a small Buddha and pictures of two of the three Blavatsky Mahatmas. Upon leaving, Madame Blavatsky merrily suggested that she might make an "astral" visit to London and call upon Mr. Conway.

Mr. Conway found the leader of Theosophy a woman of the world and not a woman of imagination. Her impostures were not for the purpose of making money, but from a morbid desire to sway men. Her histrionic powers were taxed during his visit, because, as he learned afterward, the silent woman at the table was Madame Coulomb, who at that very moment was threatening the whole structure of Theosophy by her exposures. The publication of her disclosures in the public prints shattered entirely all the pretensions of Madame Blavatsky as a miracle-worker. Mr. Conway's lifelong interest in religion and religions added zest to his visit to India, and gained his admittance to many and varied groups of men. He met Mozoomdar, and with him discussed the character of Keshub Chunder Sen and the Brahmo-Somaj, reaching the conclusion that the movement differed but little from early Christian Unitarianism in America. The traveler's mind was open to every possible influence except that of Christianity. He found few traces of mission work in India, making among other statements an entirely erroneous one in regard to Ramabai and her work. It gratified him to note that "the literalism of Christian missionaries prevented their doing much harm." Perhaps after twenty years (his visit to India was twenty years ago) Mr. Conway has modified his opinion and is able to judge more fairly of actual facts.

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Comment on Current Books

Birdcraft A new edition of a recognized and valuable handbook about birds, in which about two hundred song, game, and water birds are carefully and systematically described, with many references to literary and personal associations, and with much else that will please as well as inform the student of bird-lore. The pictures are in black and white, and when one remembers some miscolored bird pictures in other books we are glad of it. (Birdcraft. By Mabel Osgood Wright. The Macmillan Company, New York. $2, net.)

The Book of Psalms The notice given to the first volume of this masterly work in The Outlook of October 13, 1906, is too recent for any repetition here. The present volume finishes the commentary. The special student and the ordinarily intelligent reader are both provided for; the former in full measure. The latter will find some strikingly new translations superseding the old. Dogmatic reasons will make it hard for many to give up the traditional reference of Psalm li. to David and his great sin. That this must be given up Professor Robertson Smith showed reluctant Scotland in 1880. It is not so hard now to agree with Dr. Briggs: "Psalm li. is a penitential prayer of the congregation in the time of Nehemiah." In Psalm cxix. he tells us that "all Christian translations err greatly" in misinterpreting the eight different Hebrew terms denoting the Law. In these two volumes Professor Briggs's special genius appears at its best. (A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms. By Charles Augustus Briggs, D.D., D.Litt., and Emilie Grace Briggs, B.D. Vol. II. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $3, net.)

The Empress Eugénie A large volume, written by Jane T. Stoddart, contains the life story of the latest if not the last Empress of the French. Born of mixed Spanish and Scotch parentage, brought up by a gay, rather daring mother, who, after acquiring the fortune of her deceased husband, the Count Téba, led an extravagant life in both Spain and France, Eugénie, a beautiful girl, attained her ambition and became an Empress. While scandal was not entirely unassociated with her unconventional progress, she showed such tact and generosity after she reached the pinnacle of power that much was forgotten and forgiven. Napoleon III. was for years devoted to her, and her ambitious plans centered in her only son. Her griefs and humiliations are known and excite pity everywhere. Her exile in England was relieved by the warm friendship of Queen Victoria and the royal family, but in spite of her almost fanatical devotion to religion, she is plunged in sadness and looks longingly forward to death. The author of this biography is gentle in judgment, and defends Eugénie from the accusations of personal ambition which were current at the time of the Franco-German War, when she came into prominence politically, during the physical and moral decrepitude of Napoleon III. Her deserted rooms in the Tuileries are said to have expressed her character, in its curious mingling of superstition and absolute worldliness. She vibrated between penances and wild gayety, a logical result of her birth, training, and circumstances, yet she won friends even in her most arrogant days, and as a lonely, aged, bereaved woman commands sympathy from all. (The Life of Empress Eugénie. By Jane T. Stoddart. Third Edition. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $3, net.)

The First Two Tudors Perhaps the most striking and certainly not the least pleasing feature of Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's contribution to the Hunt-Poole "Political History of England" is the emphasis he places on the reign of King Henry the Seventh. In his pages the first Tudor is no shadowy figure, paling in the brilliance of his more celebrated son; he is seen in clear relief, a living and masterful personality, the founder not in name only of his illustrious house. When, as Mr. Fisher makes very evident, the fortunes of war placed him on the throne, he found himself the ruler, not of a united and purposeful nation, but of a nation of malcontents embittered by long-continued internecine strife, and from the first he encountered revolt. Yet he did much more than merely maintain his kingship. With rare penetration and ability he raised himself above the aristocratic factions by which he was surrounded, brought peace and order out of war and chaos, and ere his death firmly established the beneficent absolutism of which his son was to be the unfaltering exponent. Of that son, of course, Mr. Fisher has much to say, and what he says is usually to the point, sane, and just. He recognizes that the whilom Defender of the Faith and later Maker of the English Reformation was gross, cruel, crafty, hypocritical, and avaricious, but he

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also recognizes that he was a great ruler of men, sagacious, penetrating, and a real statesman. Sometimes, indeed, and particularly in the important matter of the divorce, he inclines to an undue charity; but, on the whole, the portrait he paints is acceptable and convincing. It is painted, too, as is the entire period of which he treats, with a masterly hand, the hand of the historian who is writer as well as scholar. Perhaps an overzealousness for detail is manifest here and there, as, for example, in the discussion of foreign relations, but even where detail is most abundant the sense of continuity and unity and interest is preserved. And, on occasion, Mr. Fisher shows himself capable of rising to heights of superb eloquence. (The Political History of England. Edited by William Hunt and Reginald Poole. Vol. V., 1485–1547. By H. A. L. Fisher. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $2.60, net.)

From Sumter to Gettysburg

The story of the Civil War from the bombardment of Fort Sumter to the battle of Gettysburg is the subject of Dr. James K. Hosmer's "The Appeal to Arms," the twentieth volume of the "American Nation" serial history of the United States; and those acquainted with the scheme of this history need not be told that, in order to keep within the allotted limits, Dr. Hosmer has been obliged to condense his narrative rigorously. He has done this so ably, however, that, despite the multiplicity of movements and events, the reader is given much more than an outline sketch. By way of introduction Dr. Hosmer glances for a moment at the civil leaders on each side and describes briefly the geographical, racial, social, and economic factors which conditioned the great conflict. He then enters immediately upon what proves to be a most spirited, informing, and readable account of the successive campaigns and battles of the years under review. Necessarily there are occasional digressions to discuss concurrent political events, and in these the interest is similarly maintained at a high level. As may be imagined, scant space is devoted to the consideration of moot questions with which, as every student of Civil War history knows, the subject bristles; but there will be little inclination to dissent from the conclusions Dr. Hosmer voices, conclusions marked not merely by fairness but by shrewd common sense. His portraits of the great military captains are, if sometimes too compact, vivid and persuasive; and his exposition of the problems with which they were confronted, and the manner in which they attacked these problems, is clearness itself. So far as the strictly military portion of the volume is concerned, perhaps the most striking feature is the account given of Jackson's Shenandoah Valley campaign in the spring of '62; while in non-military matters Dr. Hosmer is seen at his best in the chapter on emancipation. Altogether, we look forward with pleasure to the forthcoming volume in which he will conclude his story of the war. (The American Nation. Edited by Albert Bushnell Hart. Vol. XX., The Appeal to Arms. By James Kendall Hosmer. Harper & Brothers, New York. $2, net.)

Liberal Education

The papers presented in this volume have been read before important meetings of educational experts, and should be read by all college alumni who would keep pace with advancing change. The "Tutorial System in College," the "Changing Conception of 'the Faculty' in American Universities," "True and False Standards of Graduate Work," the "Present Peril to Liberal Education," the "Length of the College Course," and the "American College"—subjects of interest to all educated men—receive in these papers a searching and enlightening discussion. That the historic American college is the citadel of liberal knowledge, to be conserved as such in spirit if not in form, is their underlying conviction. How Princeton is doing this by its new tutorial system is attractively told. That there is great danger of subordinating true culture to the immediate efficiency in practical lines which technical education imparts is certainly true. Commercialism is an omnipresent foe to culture. More men of all-round ability are needed in American faculties. There is too much of the specialization which gains "intensive knowledge" at the price of "extensive ignorance." The main contention of Dean West is well sustained: whatever new paths of learning are opened, the old ideal of a truly liberalizing knowledge must be pursued. (Short Papers on American Liberal Education. By Andrew Fleming West. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. 75c., net.)

A Little Old World

The Fogazzaro novels are good to read. In especial, the later ones stand for their author's ideals of life, religion, and work; first, a purification of the Roman Catholic Church, and then the active participation by Roman Catholics in the progressive religious, social, and political life of our day. In other words, men should be as broadly as they are intensely religious. But, aside from this, the Fogazzaro novels are good to read because of the characters therein depicted; these seem more like ourselves than do those of

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most novels of Italy, whether written by Italian romancers from Manzoni to Verga or by foreign novelists from Hawthorne to Marion Crawford. In "Piccolo Mondo Antico," for instance, the characters, especially the minor ones, have a humanness, pathos, whimsicality, and quiet humor which remind one now of Dickens, now of Fritz Reuter. "Piccolo Mondo Antico" has reached its forty-fourth edition in Italy—a sufficient comment concerning its popularity. Perhaps it comes the nearest to being a historical romance of any of Fogazzaro's novels. It represents "a little old world," for its scenes are practically confined to the lovely shores of the Lake of Lugano during the Austrian occupation half a century ago. Those humiliating days for Italy are well depicted, and, while the novel does not portray all the historical scenes which one might expect, it does throw a valued side-light on them. The hero, Don Franco, is none other than Signor Fogazzaro's father, and the heroine Luisa is his mother. Don Franco is hardly so much a "patriot"—to use the rather misleading title of the translation—as he is a religionist, a type of the Church in its conflict with unbelief; he prefigures "Il Santo," published in English as "The Saint," the third member of the trilogy of which "The Patriot" forms the first. A translation of the second, "Piccolo Mondo Moderno," is in press and is to be entitled "The Sinner." The trilogy is the more remarkable because it was unconsciously evolved rather than consciously planned. The "Antico" is not Signor Fogazzaro's greatest work. While it contains some striking descriptions of nature, recalling the author's "Idillii," and while in plot, character-drawing, and style it is superior to his "Malombra" and "Mistero del Poeta," it does not equal his "Daniele Cortis," which in these respects stands well-nigh unexcelled among novels dealing with present-day Italy. As to the English edition of the "Antico," though the vigorous translation may tally with the dictionary, it does not always preserve the novelist's originality of expression and atmosphere. (Piccolo Mondo Antico. Da Antonio Fogazzaro. Baldini, Castoldi e Cia., Milan. The Patriot [Piccolo Mondo Antico]. By Antonio Fogazzaro. Translated by M. Prichard-Agnetti. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

Professor Lanciani's Latest Volume

The literature which describes Rome has now been enriched by the publication of a notable and impressive-looking volume. It describes various happenings in the Eternal City during the Renaissance. Professor Lanciani is best known by his books on the archæology which illustrated the early republican and imperial eras—"The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome" and "Ancient Rome in the Light of Recent Discoveries." But some of the matter in his "Destruction of Ancient Rome" and "New Tales of Old Rome" has to do with other than the Roman Imperial ages. In his present volume Signor Lanciani gives an account of the moral and material evolution of Rome from mediæval conditions. He describes the epoch beginning with the return of the Popes from Avignon, and emphasizes the later "Golden Days" as brought about by Paul III. and by the four personalities who, perhaps above all others, represented progress in finance, art, and morals, namely, Chigi, Raphael, and Michelangelo, and, possibly most interesting of all, Vittoria Colonna. In dealing with the lives of these illustrious persons the author has confined himself for the most part to little-known particulars, and his book thus awakens special interest. Of course, as an archæologist, his principal aim has been to illustrate the monuments of the Renaissance period in Rome, too many of which, alas! are concealed under modern superstructures. The text's value is doubled by the publication of about a hundred illustrations; a number of these are from subjects which have now been photographed for the first time. (The Golden Days of the Renaissance in Rome. By Rodolfo Lanciani. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. $5.)

Religion in Japan

All intelligent Americans regard it as a matter of national interest to understand Japanese thought as well as that of any other modern people. Nor can the influence of religion upon the thought of a people be left out of account. This volume has interest, therefore, for the general reader. Its author is peculiarly qualified for appreciative treatment of his subject by his long residence in Japan, in whose Imperial University he served for years. Shintoism (the old nature-religion), Buddhism and Confucianism, imported from China—the former as worship of the Absolute, the latter as polity and ethics—coexist there, and in these three religions "the religion of Japan" finds various expression. Shintoism is religious patriotism; Buddhism is the faith of the unlettered and poor; Confucianism is "the religion of gentlemen." These three have been variously modified during the comparatively brief period of fourteen centuries covered by historical dates. The account of these changes constitutes a history of the development of that innate religious feeling in which all religions root. "Beneath the changing forms we seem to be able to trace

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an expansion and ennobling of the religious consciousness." The religion of Japan already finds a fourth expression in Christianity, as a part of the nation's new enlightenment. "Its influence already stirs Japan," says Dr. Knox, "and the future is with it." (The Development of Religion in Japan. By George William Knox, D.D., LL.D. American Lectures on the History of Religions, Vol. VI. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. $1.50.)

Secretary Taft on Civic Duty

The four lectures which Secretary Taft delivered at Yale last year have now been issued in book form under the title of "Four Aspects of Civic Duty." At the time of their delivery we editorially called attention to them, and we would merely remind our readers that, while addressed primarily to university undergraduates, they have a significance and value for every American, of whatever age or station, who would acquit himself creditably of his duty as a citizen. In the several lectures Secretary Taft spoke of civic duty from the respective standpoints of the college graduate, the judge, the colonial administrator, and the national executive, thus viewing it in each case from the vantage point of practical experience. In the first lecture he emphasized the responsibility that lies on the educated man of taking an active part in the political life of his city, State, and country; and incidentally gave a rapid but clear exposition of the views he entertains with regard to fundamental principles of economics and politics. In the second the emphasis was on the duty of the citizen in upholding the supremacy of the law, and on the necessity for certain reforms whereby the law may the better vindicate itself. The third was largely a review of the Philippine problem in the light of the experience obtained since the occupation of the islands, and with especial reference to the proper policy to be pursued by the American citizen who takes up his residence in the Philippines, the American citizen who stays at home, and the Filipino himself. The concluding lecture was occupied with a brief account of the structure and operation of the National administration, and of the attitude which in the speaker's opinion the citizen ought to adopt towards the administration. (Four Aspects of Civic Duty. By William Howard Taft. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. $1, net.)

Social Life in England

A decidedly entertaining account of the growth of social institutions and modern customs in England. The absurdities of bygone fashion, the changes made by scientific inventions, domestic conveniences and inconveniences, old-time gambling, the abolition of dueling, the improvement of table manners, and a hundred other little landmarks of advancing civilization are discussed in an unconventional, amusing way. The result is a series of shifting society pictures not without significance and with a strong interest to all who like to delve into the quaint, queer, and curious. (A Short History of Social Life in England. By M. B. Synge, F. R. Hist. S. A. S. Barnes & Co., New York.)

Songs for Schools

Mr. Farnsworth has performed a much-needed service to public school music by collecting in one volume, well printed and bound and sold at a moderate price, the best of the traditional songs suitable for children's voices. One finds here the more important national tunes, the beautiful melodies of Stephen C. Foster, "The Old Folks at Home" and "My Old Kentucky Home," fine old English, Scottish, Irish, and Welsh folk songs, a few college songs, and a good selection of hymn tunes. Furthermore, one does not have to wade through the vast mass of trivial, dull, and insignificant tunes usually included in such collections, apparently on the hypothesis that anything is good enough for children to sing provided the words are interesting. This book is reassuringly free from such fatuities; indeed, it is hardly too much to say that every song in it is one that "no well-appointed child should be without." A special feature of the book is the placing of most of the complexities in the accompaniment, leaving the singers to sing the melody only. Mr. Farnsworth points out in his preface that the voices of good singers are often strained in the effort to sing in parts, and that part work by children's voices is often ineffective. This is undoubtedly true of the lower grades, and for them this book will be most useful, even if part work is attempted, as may by some be thought desirable, by the older boys and girls. Mr. Loomis's accompaniments show imagination and much technical skill, though in some instances one might question whether he has not elaborated his treatment more than is in keeping with the ruggedly simple nature of the melodies, and beyond the ability of most of those who will be called upon to play them. On the whole, this book is a long step in advance in the literature of school music. (Songs for Schools. Compiled by Charles Hubert Farnsworth, of Teachers College, Columbia University, with Accompaniments by Harvey Worthington Loomis and B. D. Allen. The Macmillan Company, New York. 60c., net.)

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Starting in Life Generally speaking, the boy who has parents or guardians, and opportunities for coming into personal contact with the best teachers, and means enough of support to relieve him of the anxiety of earning his own bread and butter during his boyhood, had better not attempt to determine too early in life his own future career. Nine times out of ten he cannot determine it even if he attempts to. There are, however, literally thousands of boys in this country whose first problem is how to feed and clothe themselves, and in addition perhaps how to be of material service to their families. Out of such boyhoods have grown some of the most useful men of the country. To boys of this type we should think Mr. Fowler's compendium would be not only interesting, but useful. It makes no pretense to literary merit, but gives the boy, in plain and homely language, descriptions, based often upon the experience of experts, concerning the opportunities and the demands of various professions and business callings. In view of the excellent purpose of the book and of the general success with which that purpose is carried out, it may be unimportant to point out the slight defects of arrangement which we find in it; but since Mr. Fowler is a recognized authority on "system," which he would apply to literature as rigorously as he would to business, we cannot understand why he sandwiches the architect between the department store and the manufacturer, or why he should flank his chapter on the steam railway with chapters on the stage and the artist. (Starting in Life. By Nathaniel C. Fowler, Jr. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. $1.50, net.)

Success in Life The conditions of success in life being for the most part the same in all civilized nations, this volume, written apparently for Europeans, especially for Britons, may be read with profit by Americans. The author, a native of Hungary, has had large experience with Oxford undergraduates and other young Englishmen, and is a well-known author, gifted with a good literary style. He here discusses the constant factors of "energetics," or "the science of success," its variable factors, and success in special lines, as that of the journalist, the artist, etc. The many instances cited are mostly European. As to facts, although a shrewd observer, he is not always accurate, *e. g.*, affirming, in ignorance of the census, that "most white people in the United States are sons of a foreign father or grandfather." In undeveloped Hungary he sees "immense" openings for energetic Englishmen or Americans, whom he will be glad to inform about them. For the young man bent on success the best of all books is the Bible, and he strenuously commends it as such. A sagacious writer he is, though at times amusingly otherwise, as in predicting that the next great struggle will not be between an upper class and a lower, but "between the two sexes, both on the same plane." (Success in Life. By Emil Reich. Duffield & Co., New York. $1.50. Postage, 12c.)

Trusts and Kartells Some upholders of the advantages of combination in trade claim that a scattered group of factories, managed by a board of experts, will, in the long run, prove more efficient than the older system, in which every factory had its own manager. The attraction of ownership, which has often made a newspaper owner of moderate intelligence a better editor than the brilliant man who has no capital or interest in the concern, may often outweigh the advantages claimed for the board of experts. So opines Mr. Hirst in his book on "Monopolies, Trusts, and Kartells," and pertinently adds: "Besides, who is to guarantee that the best men will be on the board?" He also pays his compliments to those who exaggerate the economic advantages of the trust, declaring that the achievements of the greater trusts at least show rather a restriction of output and an increase in price. Proper, regulated combination may be all very well. But that is not monopoly. How is a monopoly, a trust, evolved? Mr. Hirst seems to think that in England it is the child of English law, and that in America it is the child of our ultra tariff. While the German Kartell may have this double parentage, a more interesting feature of the Kartell lies in its difference in two important respects from our American trusts. First, it is not so apt to destroy individuality, though eliminating competitive war among the combining individual firms; secondly, it is more likely to succeed in "dumping" than our trusts do; from time to time the latter sell their surplus stock at low prices, and a high tariff makes it probable that the vast majority of these sales are made to foreigners. In Germany, however, the directors of the Kartell actually pay a subvention or bounty to exporting firms. Discussing particular American trusts, the author justly says of the Standard Oil that had there been an independent and impartial administration of Pennsylvania and Ohio railways, no oil monopoly could have been developed. He notes, nevertheless, that the Standard Oil Company forms one of the very few exceptions to the list given in Mr. W. R. Lawson's "United States Tariff for Trusts" (in the

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latter's "American Trust Problems"). In that list we find such pertinent facts as that our iron and steel manufacturers are protected by a forty-five per cent. duty on the manufacture of iron, steel, bronze, and copper; that the coal ring is protected by a duty of sixty-seven cents a ton on soft coal; that the meat trust is protected by a duty of two cents a pound on beef and lard and five cents a pound on hams and bacon; and that the sugar manufacturers are protected by nearly one cent a pound on sugar below a certain standard and two cents a pound on that above the standard. We are glad that these figures have been reprinted. They need to be frequently published, in order to remind our people of the aid given by the tariff to the trusts. While in the general discussion of the trust problem Mr. Hirst's book will be a helpful factor, it would have been still more helpful had it included some later information, especially concerning the results of governmental investigation of monopolies in this country. (Monopolies, Trusts, and Kartells. By Francis W. Hirst. E. P. Dutton & Co., New York. $1, net.)

The World Machine

This is a valuable addition to the literature of popularized science. It shows how the modern conception of the Cosmos was worked out from the crude fancies of primitive men, through ages of observation and reflection, into the immense range and detail of accurately systemized knowledge. The chief contributors, ancient and modern, to the grand result receive due commemoration. The ancient astronomers are found not at all inferior to the modern, except in lack of modern instrumental and mathematical apparatus. The story is told, moreover, in good literary style, animated throughout, and at times picturesque, as in describing the zone of the asteroids as "the cinder-path of the solar system." The story, of course, is to be continued; the unsolved questions are named, and the fresh enigmas before which each new discovery halts. "Always at the end there will be a mystery; it will always be there." This ingenuous confession seems hardly congruous with the atheistical tone of the writer, with his affirmation that "reading any Reason or Intelligence into this strange wentletrap of a world . . . seems to the initiate eye . . . more unthinkable, more *unbelievable*, than ever." An apposite comment upon this conclusion is suggested by his later remark: "Sometimes among scientific workers one perceives a certain arrogance, as though the great problems of existence had been quite disposed of." It does seem arrogant to set down the being who reads the secret of the stars as a mere mixture of "chemical ingredients . . . carbon, water, ammonia, and a few salts." Grant that all which science discovers is mechanism. To say therefore that mechanism is all is an amazing jump of false logic. Whence the mechanism? Here science ends, and here begins the philosophy which Mr. Snyder contemns. (The World Machine: The First Phase. The Cosmic Mechanism. By Carl Snyder. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. $2.50, net.)

War Out of Date

Six centuries ago Dante's "De Monarchia" started men in thinking that the world's orderliness and lasting peace are not always or often secured by war. Three centuries afterwards Grotius's "De Jure Belli et Pacis" started men's thoughts anew in this direction. Seventy years later came William Penn's "Plan for the Peace of Europe." In the last century appeared Channing's "Discourses on War," Charles Sumner's "The True Grandeur of Nations," and, a few years before the Hague Peace Conference convened, Jean de Bloch's "Future of War." After these giants, the Rev. Walter Walsh's "Moral Damage of War" seems a pygmy. It is a rhetorical and aggressive, but it is also in its way a useful, arraignment of the war system. Mr. Walsh, an eloquent clergyman of Dundee, Scotland, was present at the Boston Peace Congress in 1904, where he made some fervent speeches. He now writes some fervent chapters, successively tracing the moral damage of war to the child, the soldier, the politician, the journalist, the preacher, the missionary, the trader, the citizen, the patriot, and the reformer. He supports his opinions with many references to specific events during the Boer War; indeed, in addressing himself primarily to a British public, Mr. Walsh's book is largely a presentation of the demoralization consequent upon some of the conditions which produced that war and which were characteristic of it. We could wish that the book contained an equal number of illustrations drawn from the Russo-Japanese War. Such volumes as Mr. Walsh's, Mr. Warner's "Ethics of Force," and Mr. Bridgman's "World Organization," published as they are at nominal prices in the interest of the Peace Movement, should attain a deservedly wide circulation. For, as a method of settling differences among nations, war is becoming recognized at last, we are glad to think, as unworthy of present-day civilization. (The Moral Damage of War. By Walter Walsh. Ginn & Co., Boston. 75 cents, net.)

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Letters to The Outlook

CHILD LABOR IN THE SOUTH

I desire to make some reply to an article by the Rev. A. J. McKelway, of Atlanta, Georgia, who is employed by the National Child Labor Committee; the article appeared in your edition of February 16, 1907. The writer has been for twenty-six years engaged in cotton manufacturing in South Carolina.

Dr. McKelway states that "the child labor evil in the South to-day is greater than it is in any other part of the country, perhaps than in any other part of the civilized world." He quotes from Bulletin 69 of the Census Bureau, issued January 25, 1907, and also from the synopsis of the Census of 1900, but does not tell the whole story as told in Bulletin 69, and on page 42 you will find the following:

> To a greater extent than any other manufacturing or mechanical industry, the cotton-mill furnishes employment to children. In 1900 the number of cotton-mill operatives ten to fifteen years of age was 44,427, and they formed eighteen per cent. of the total number of persons over ten years of age who reported that occupation. When compared with the number of children engaged in pursuits not of a manufacturing or mechanical nature, the figures for child cotton-mill operatives in 1900 are found to be smaller than those for three other groups—agricultural laborers, servants and waitresses, and laborers of a class not specified. The proportion of children at least ten years of age among the total number employed is greater in two occupations, namely, those of messengers and errand and office boys, and of agricultural laborers. Thus the occupation of the cotton-mill operatives ranks fourth among all occupations in the actual number of children employed and third in the proportion of children among the total number reporting.

It is a well-known fact that in the two occupations of messengers and office-boys the South employs comparatively few, and those young people are employed largely in the great cities of the North and not in the sparsely settled districts of the South.

Another error Dr. McKelway makes is in stating that it has been "demonstrated that the same class and quality of goods made in the South and in the East bring a considerably lower price when made in the South, through the bad reputation the Southern mills have won for the indifferent product of unskilled, that is, child, labor." Dr. McKelway would find great difficulty in establishing the truth of this statement, and, on the contrary, indisputable proof could be furnished that the statement is wide of the facts and grossly incorrect.

I am one of the several cotton manufacturers from Georgia, South Carolina, and North Carolina who are members of the Civic Federation, and attended the meeting in December last in New York City. I there made my protest against the misrepresentations made by the officials of the National Child Labor Committee in reference to Southern mill conditions.

I first alluded to the statement of Spargo in his book, "The Bitter Cry of the Children," on the authority of Dr. McKelway, that the spinning-frames in the Southern cotton-mills had adjustable legs, so as to be lowered to the floor for the convenience of the small children. I clearly demonstrated the absurdity of this statement, and the ignorance of conditions and the spirit of unfairness that prompted it. I also disputed the statement made by the officials of the National Child Labor Committee in their appeals for contributions that 60,000 children under fourteen are employed in Southern cotton-mills, and that little girls eight years of age worked a twelve-hour night in the cotton-mills. As a matter of fact, none of the weaving mills in South Carolina work at night, and to my knowledge only four of the yarn-mills do any night work, and I am informed only in the twister-room, where adults are employed. I was, and am, speaking for South Carolina, with whose conditions I am familiar, having access to the official records. There are about 9,000,000 spindles in the Southern States, and a low average would be 100 spindles to the side, and in the mills with which I am familiar the average number of sides attended by an operative is seven and one-half, which would indicate 12,000 people employed in all the Southern spinning-rooms. As a matter of fact, as far as my observation goes, in South Carolina about half the spinners are over sixteen years of age, and many of them women; but granting for the sake of argument that all the 12,000 are children, and that there are an equal number of young children employed as sweepers, doffers, band-boys, drawing-in hands, and in the cloth-rooms, you would not find over 24,000 young people actually employed at any one time in the cotton-mills, and many of the sweepers and doffers and drawing-in hands are over sixteen years of age.

On page 47 of Bulletin No. 69 the comparative table is given of the total average number of wage-earners employed in the manufacture of cotton goods and small cotton wares, which, of course, includes the knitting-mills, as reported by the Census of Manufacturers. In 1905 the figures for the Southern States are 123,165. This is very

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far from the 209,000 reported by Dr. McKelway. This same table gives the number of children under sixteen years of age employed in the manufacture of cotton goods and cotton small wares in the Southern States as 28,135, and it is difficult to understand how Dr. McKelway persists in his estimate of 62,000 to 78,000 children being employed in Southern cotton-mills.

Referring again to Census Bulletin No. 69, page 48, it is stated:

> In 1905 the estimated number of cotton-mill operatives ten to fifteen years of age in the total population was 44,839, an increase over 1900 of only 412.
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> . . . . . .
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> In spite of the increase in the actual number of child operatives ten to fifteen years of age in the Southern States, the tendency is apparently away from the employment of children, a fact indicated by a comparison of the figures presented in Table 30 for the average number of all ages with those for the average number under sixteen. The average number of all ages increased 4.3 per cent. during the five-year period from 1900 to 1905, while the average number under sixteen increased only four-tenths of one per cent. In all of the principal States which showed a decrease in the number of child operatives the number of all ages did not decrease proportionally. Of the States that showed an increase in the number of child operatives, Indiana, Tennessee, and Texas were the only ones in which the number of all ages did not increase more than proportionally. Thus it appears that the tendency is to employ older people.

The increase in the number of children employed in the Southern States between 1900 and 1905 is easily explained when we realize that in 1900 the total number of Southern mill employees was 100,930, and in 1905 the total number had increased to 123,165, or an increase of about 22 per cent., and this owing to the great increase in the number of cotton-mills in the South between 1900 and 1904.

Again, Dr. McKelway states that the age limit for the employment of young persons is two years lower, and in some exceptional cases four years lower, in the South than in the rest of the civilized world. Is not the age limit twelve years in Maine and New Hampshire, and thirteen in Rhode Island, as stated in Labor Bulletin, January, 1906?

For ten years before the National Child Labor Committee was organized fair-minded men who were engaged in the manufacture of cotton in the Southern States, and who employed thousands of operatives, were actively and steadfastly working to overcome the evils that the rapid growth of the industry had unavoidably developed. Manufacturers had appeared before the South Carolina Legislature since 1902 advocating labor legislation, child labor laws, birth registration laws, marriage license laws, and other reforms that were felt to be necessary. For ten years before the child labor law in South Carolina was enacted (and it was done largely through the influence of the manufacturers themselves), certain cotton-mills in South Carolina had rules preventing the employment of children under twelve years of age, and attempting to compel their attendance at the schools maintained by the cotton-mill corporations. To-day South Carolina has not a birth registration law, a marriage license law, or a compulsory school law, but it is not the fault of the cotton manufacturers; and it is impossible properly and fairly to enforce any child labor law unless there is a birth registration law, which would prevent false statements on the part of unscrupulous parents.

The taxes in South Carolina are almost entirely paid by the white population, and the amount collected for school taxes is fairly divided between the colored schools and the white schools. As is well known, the colored population in South Carolina largely exceeds the white population, and the white population are carrying the burden of educating the colored people. The result is that the public schools in South Carolina are open only for three and a half to four months, and in the cotton-mill villages the mill corporations are supporting their schools for nine and ten months, and also their kindergartens. The cotton-mill corporations in South Carolina have invested over $85,000 in school buildings and furniture, and they supplement the State fund over $40,000 annually in maintaining these schools; there are enrolled in the mill schools over eight thousand children, and these children are indebted to the mill corporations for an opportunity to receive an education. The National Child Labor Committee have seemingly determined to antagonize all those who are working for the betterment of the condition of the cotton-mill employees and the children in the cotton-mills in South Carolina. Efforts that were made to forbid the employment of children under twelve years of age ten years before any child labor law was enacted, and to force those children to attend the mill schools, or to induce them to attend the mill schools by a gratuity each month, have been perverted by officials of the Child Labor Committee, and extracts from this agreement published claiming that children of twelve years of age were forced to work in the mills, and ignoring the fact that the younger children were protected and encouraged to go to school.

To judge fairly of the condition of the employees of the cotton-mills in South Carolina to-day one must understand and remember the conditions surrounding these people before the cotton-mills were built. Many of the inhabitants of these mill villages are from the mountain country, and lived in single-room

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log houses, some of them with earth floors. The conditions to-day are changed, and the wonderfully rapid development of the cotton-mill industry has furnished these people with the employment they desired, with school-houses and church facilities; and, even with all the imaginary or real evils that have been developed by the rapid growth of the cotton-mill industry, no one can justly say that the condition of the residents of the mill villages is not far better to-day than was their previous state. Many of our mill villages and mills have been investigated by honest and competent investigators, who are always welcomed, such as Miss Beeks, of the Welfare Department of the National Civic Federation, and Mrs. J. Ellen Foster, of the Department of Justice, Washington, who is now investigating the condition of the working women and children of the United States under a special commission from President Roosevelt. The report of Miss Beeks has been published, illustrated with photographs.

ELLISON A. SMYTH.

Pelzer, South Carolina.

LINCOLN MEMORIAL UNIVERSITY

I am confident that your readers would be glad to know something more about that great movement which seeks to extend the blessings of education to the white people who live among the mountains of Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, North Carolina, and Georgia. They number about three millions, and have in their veins the very best blood of our great Nation. They have not as yet been greatly affected by the tides of prosperity which are sweeping over the country. They live, as their fathers did, in widely scattered and sparsely peopled regions where they cultivate their little farms, but scarcely know the color of money, and are, many of them, without opportunity for education.

Recognizing this state of things, generous people in all parts of the country—North, East, South, West—have been establishing schools and colleges at convenient points, and have done a very noble work. The great religious denominations have vied with each other, and have made an excellent record. But the country is of vast extent, and it is not strange that some sections have been overlooked.

One of these overlooked and neglected regions, till lately, is that lying about Cumberland Gap, Tennessee. Just at this point, where the mountains dip and the tides of commerce should flow, the three great States of Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee come together. It is a beautiful and fertile country, within easy reach of which are living some two hundred and fifty thousand people. Across the mountains, in Kentucky, and in other directions, are schools of various grades which are doing good. But they are all too remote to influence specially the people of the Cumberland Gap region, who cannot easily travel so far—though, in their eagerness to learn, the young people do go long distances on foot.

In this neglected corner of the world, about eleven years ago, was established Lincoln Memorial University. Men from widely separated parts of the country united in the great work. From then till now it has been supported mainly by voluntary contributions. In that time we have educated more than a thousand young men and women to lives of usefulness and uprightness. Large numbers have themselves become teachers, and have in turn lighted the torch of learning in hundreds of log dwellings and little hamlets, where before were none but the most meager facilities. Fifty such teachers last year went out from the University and taught for several months in schools which averaged over sixty pupils each. What an influence for good! Three thousand young people taken from the kingdom of ignorance and introduced into the realm where wholesome knowledge prevails!

But the University has now reached a point where it cannot fulfill its high mission without greatly increasing its accommodations. We now have five hundred and sixty students on our rolls. But we could very soon have a thousand, if we had means for properly caring for them. Sad indeed is the thought of turning away bright young people who come hungry and thirsty for knowledge, as we have had to do. And we simply must not do it! We must provide for them. To refuse to do so would be to wrong them and stultify ourselves. Practical patriotism calls upon us to remember that the right education of the common people is the corner-stone on which rests our Republic. To refuse assistance in such work is to invite National disaster.

We need, and must speedily have, an additional building for properly carrying on our work. It will cost not less than $50,000. Generous subscriptions have already been made by men who for years have been helping to pay the current expenses. But they cannot do it all. Nor should they. The privilege belongs alike to all. It is impossible to put money where it will yield better returns. Several thousands have already been promised, and we have assurance that a large sum will be given to complete the work when we have secured about twenty thousand more.

I may be permitted to add that I have

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given eleven years of my life to this work, without compensation, and I now take pleasure in contributing to it the last piece of property in my possession. Having done this, I appeal for the help of my countrymen.

In the name of the Board of Directors who have given time and thought and money freely and repeatedly, and on behalf of the boys and girls who cannot plead for themselves, I appeal for contributions either large or small. Checks may be made payable to the Hon. Darwin R. James, Treasurer, and sent to 384 Washington Street, New York.

O. O. HOWARD.
Major-General, etc. (Retired), President Board Lincoln Memorial University.

[Since this letter was written a serious loss by fire renders the need of Lincoln Memorial University the more pressing.—THE EDITORS.]

A WORTHY SUGGESTION

I live in a city of the Middle West. I am a member of the largest church in our city, the membership being over twelve hundred. I have belonged to this church thirteen years. When I first came into it, the pastor was a progressive Eastern man, and under him the church prospered. But his work was not, of course, wholly approved, and after a few years he resigned. Since that time the policy of the teaching has been most conservative. The membership has remained practically unchanged, but the attendance has greatly decreased. Yet that is not the most alarming feature. The attendance has *changed*. A large body of thinking people have either ceased attendance wholly, or attend, as they frankly admit, because, being members of the church, they feel under obligation.

This winter, feeling that something must be done, a two weeks' revival was held under a professional revivalist, the attendance at these meetings being about two hundred and fifty, not a few of whom were drawn from other churches; and of this small number many attended each *one* service.

There was added to the church, as a result of much individual work at this time, a small number, nearly all of whom were children under fourteen years of age. And there was another side to this. There was driven from the church a far greater number of grown and thinking people—not from actual membership, but, as it seems to me, a far more serious thing, from all feeling of sympathy and fellowship in the church life. Two questions now suggest themselves. Is the church as responsible for the ones driven out as it is for the ones drawn? Also, what is to become of those antagonized? These people are religious people, are in sympathy with all upward movement, but they are without a leader. And what I say of my church I may say of the score and more of other churches in this city. Now, what is to be done? May I claim the privilege of fools who rush in where angels fear to tread, and make a suggestion?

Could there not be a movement started by our colleges, something in the nature of University Extension work—a course of study laid out by our best thinkers on religious and kindred subjects, a regular study with text-books and suggestions of supplementary reading? Let the Old Testament be treated by Jews, the New by leaders in the churches, history by historians, and such science as bears on race development by scientists. I am conscious of the magnitude of the work, but I also feel the magnitude of the need. And I would have the course so simple and easy of access that all might have it. And I would have leaders available to organize, supervise, and occasionally lecture to the classes. E. N.

A LABOR OF LOVE

A biography of Mrs. Eliza E. Wheaton, a noble woman and the good angel of Wheaton Seminary, is soon to be published. It is a labor of love, prepared by Miss Harriet E. Paine under the direction of the alumnæ. The book is intended chiefly for those who knew and loved Mrs. Wheaton, and, above all, for those who have been associated with Wheaton Seminary. It is believed that the book will be a modest but valuable contribution to the history of the higher education of women in this country. The edition is to be a small one, and it is desired to call the attention of Wheaton's former pupils to the necessity of subscribing if they desire to secure copies of the biography. Addresses should be sent at once to Miss Clara M. Pike, 46 Chestnut Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

JULIA OSGOOD,
For the Committee of Publication

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INFORMATION TO INVESTORS

BUYING A GUARANTEE

TO every investor may come the thought or desire to have some sort of guarantee in connection with the investments he makes. The *kind of guarantee* is the first question. Shall it be a guarantee by a corporation, or would a more satisfactory kind of guarantee be that afforded by *actual property?* For example, a *central business property*, improved with a modern fire-proof building. It will be recognized at once that any guarantee that is backed by the best class of inside business property will be more permanent and more dependable than any corporate or other guarantee.

The *business property guarantee* herein suggested is unquestionably *the best.* An investor wishing absolute *safety of his capital and perfect certainty of his income* can have *both of these guaranteed to him best* by becoming the owner of business property upon which there is no encumbrance.

The unencumbered ownership of a piece of central business property, improved with a fire-proof building, located in the heart of one of our growing cities, involves an investment of perhaps $500,000. It may be that every investor does not have $500,000 at one time for investment and therefore will answer that, while all the foregoing statements are interesting and true, such an investment is not available.

It is a fact, however, that if such an improved piece of business property, worth $500,000, were owned by five people having $100,000 each, or fifty people having $10,000 each, or by one hundred people having $5,000 each, that each individual in such a group would enjoy the safety and the earning power of such a property.

If you have $1,000 or $5,000 or $10,000 or $50,000 to invest, *you can* for $1,000 *become the owner of one unit*, or for $5,000 *become the owner of five units* (and so on), of a specific piece of improved business property located in the heart of the retail business district of *Seattle;* or of another specific piece of business property located in the heart of the retail business district of *Los Angeles;* or *you can* invest your capital partly in one of these properties and partly in the other; or *you can have your choice of eight different* properties distributed as follows: five in *Seattle*, two in *Los Angeles*, and one in *Spokane.*

Every one of these properties is free of encumbrance.

Each one is divided separately into units so that you may select the units of the property which appeals to you as the best investment for your capital and the units of the property you select are conveyed to you direct, so that you can deal with them just as independently as you could with any property you own. Every investor is given full information about value, earnings, and expenses of a property before he invests in it, and also just as full information after he has invested in it.

It is our purpose to point out to the general investor that *he can get the best guaranteed investment* without extra cost for guarantee *by becoming the owner of units of specific pieces of business property.* Properties that are established and paying liberal rentals and growing in value every year; properties which are visible, tangible, and about which every investor *is given full information which enables him to determine for himself* the safety and desirability of the investment.

We own and offer some of the "units" in each of these eight properties. Our capital is invested in them, as also is the capital of nearly a thousand individual investors who have selected them after careful investigation. Full details will be furnished—*details that will satisfy you as to safety and earning power*—a request will bring them—send it this day to *The Trustee Securities Company*, No. 1 Wall Street, New York—or to The Trustee Company of Seattle—or The Trustee Company of Los Angeles—or The Trustee Company of Spokane.

Any financial institution can secure a report for you as to the standing and reliability of these Companies—or we will upon request send a financial statement to any individual.

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